



COMBATING TERRORISM CENTER AT WEST POINT

# CTC SENTINEL

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## About the CTC Sentinel

The Combating Terrorism Center is an independent educational and research institution based in the Department of Social Sciences at the United States Military Academy, West Point. The CTC Sentinel harnesses the Center's global network of scholars and practitioners in order to understand and confront contemporary threats posed by terrorism and other forms of political violence.

The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and not of the U.S. Military Academy, the Department of the Army, or any other agency of the U.S. Government.

# Jihad After Iraq: Lessons from the Arab Afghans Phenomenon

By Mohammed M. Hafez



**N**EARLY TWO DECADES AGO, Arabs who volunteered to aid the anti-Soviet struggle in Afghanistan dispersed from the conflict zone to pursue their newfound passion: jihad in the path of God. Known as "Arab Afghans," these veterans participated in national insurgencies and civil wars, facilitated international terrorism and became ideologues of global jihad.<sup>1</sup> Today, Iraq's global jihadists are facing a similar moment. Al-Qa`ida in Iraq (AQI) is under tremendous military pressure from Sunni tribes, nationalist insurgents and U.S.-Iraqi counter-insurgency operations. There is a distinct possibility that AQI could be driven out of Iraq in the near future. It is unclear, however, what the movement will do next. The experiences of Arab Afghans suggest that the defeat of

AQI may generate new threats associated with the dispersal of its fighters in the region and around the world. Therefore, it is vitally important to revisit the experiences of the Arab Afghans to develop lessons for present day Iraq.

### The Arab Afghans

Arab Afghans were a tiny contingent in the anti-Soviet struggle, or "a drop in the ocean" according to one former prominent Arab volunteer.<sup>2</sup> Generous estimates put the number of Arab volunteers in the Afghan conflict at 3,000 to 4,000 at any one time, especially after 1986.<sup>3</sup> In total,

2 Abdullah Anas, *The Birth of the Arab Afghans: The Autobiography of Abdullah Anas between Masoud and Abdullah Azzam* (Arabic) (London: Dar Al Saqi, 2002), p. 87.

3 According to Steve Coll, "The CIA's Islamabad station estimated in a 1989 cable to Langley that there were probably about four thousand Arab volunteers in Afghanistan, mainly organized under [Abdul Rasul] Sayyaf's leadership." Steve Coll, *Ghost Wars: The Secret History of the CIA, Afghanistan, and Bin Laden, from the Soviet Invasion to September 10, 2001* (New York: Penguin Books,

1 The term "Arab Afghans" was initially used by some Arab governments—especially Egypt and Algeria—in the early 1990s as a derogatory reference to individuals who were seen as "troublemakers" or religious zealots who donned Afghan-style clothing.

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approximately 10,000 Arabs served in the area.<sup>4</sup> Most volunteers were based in Peshawar and other Pakistani cities bordering Afghanistan. They included humanitarian aid workers, cooks, drivers, accountants, teachers, doctors, engineers and religious preachers. They built camps, dug and treated water wells, and

## **“Those who did not reintegrate or serve as assets of governments embarked on a militant path.”**

attended to the sick and wounded.<sup>5</sup> Arab volunteers with jihad as a goal mostly came in the late 1980s.

Yet, despite their marginal military role in the anti-Soviet campaign, Arab Afghans acquired many of the elements necessary for sustained violent activism. A substantial number of volunteers participated in military training camps established by the Pakistani intelligence services and run by commanders of mujahidin factions. These camps gave Arab Afghans skills in guerrilla warfare and terrorism.<sup>6</sup> In addition, many of the Arab Afghans were socialized in *takfiri* ideologies (which declare as apostate secular regimes in the Muslim world). Vigilant security services to prevent zealots from distributing the works of radical ideologues did not exist, and governments were unable to counter the *takfiris* with their own breed of establishment Islam.<sup>7</sup> No less important were the network ties that were forged between diverse factions and nationalities. These networks became important for moving jihadists from one conflict zone to another, and they facilitated the acquisition of money and forged

passports.<sup>8</sup> Most critically, the Arab Afghans experience produced capable leaders, religious ideologues and military commanders who would play vital roles in places such as Algeria, Egypt, Bosnia and Chechnya.

### **The Dispersion of Arab Afghans**

The year 1992 was perhaps the most important for the dispersion of Arab Afghans. The Soviets left Afghanistan in 1989 and the Afghan communist regime fell in 1992. Many of the Gulf volunteers went back home and were treated as heroes. Other Arab Afghans became assets of regimes and their security services. This was especially the case in Yemen, where the returning Arab Afghans were given a haven and were deployed against the socialist establishment of the former South Yemen.<sup>9</sup>

Those who did not reintegrate or serve as assets of governments embarked on a militant path. Four archetypes emerged:

1. *Facilitators of Jihad*. Many Arab Afghans saw their role as facilitators of jihadist movements in their home countries or around the world. Facilitation included training, financing and sheltering jihadists in Pakistani camps and guest houses. It also encompassed smuggling weapons, forging travel documents, printing propaganda materials and serving as communication liaisons between clandestine individuals. Facilitators also produced ideological and theological justifications for militant groups. These facilitators were mainly in Peshawar, but they also emerged in Europe (London in particular), Yemen, Sudan and Afghanistan after the rise of the Taliban.

2. *National Islamic Revolutionaries*. Some Arab Afghans, particularly those from Algeria and Egypt, saw an opportunity in the early 1990s to overthrow their own regimes. Although the Algerian and Egyptian veterans did not initiate the insurgency in their respective countries, their skills, networks and experience helped the

insurgent movements tremendously.<sup>10</sup>

3. *Global Jihadists*. A number of Arab Afghans took their training, experience and networks to other conflict zones, especially Bosnia and, later, Chechnya. Their aim was to aid fellow co-religionists in their own struggles for secession or liberation. Roaming jihadists used a variety of means to enter conflict zones. The most common was illegal infiltration with the help of professional smugglers or through bribing local officials and border security agents. Others posed as humanitarian activists, relief workers, or journalists seeking to cover a war zone. Some relied on fake passports, even diplomatic ones, acquired through forgers in Pakistan or Europe.

4. *Unaffiliated Terrorists*. Less common were the volunteers who carried out successful and foiled terrorist attacks in the name of Islamic causes either in their home countries or in the West. An exemplar of this pattern is Ramzi Yousef, the mastermind behind the 1993 World

## **“Foreign fighters in Iraq are more threatening than their Arab Afghan predecessors in several respects.”**

Trade Center attack. In 1990, he went to Afghanistan to train in the Khaldin camp, run by Arab volunteers. He trained for about six months, learning weapons tactics, basic explosives and military maneuvers. He graduated to a more advanced course in remote-controlled bomb-making and experimented with some explosives in Afghanistan's civil war. He used his connections in Peshawar to acquire an Iraqi passport, which he used to enter the United States.<sup>11</sup>

### **Comparing Arab Afghans with Foreign Fighters in Iraq**

Although Arab Afghans were a relatively small group that had little influence on the course of events in Afghanistan, they

2005), p. 201.

4 Peter Bergen, *The Osama bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of al Qaeda's Leader* (Washington, D.C.: Free Press, 2006).

5 Muhammad Salah, “Events of the Jihad Years: The Journey of Afghan Arabs from Everywhere to Washington and New York” (Arabic), *al-Hayat*, October 17-21, 2001, part 2 of 5.

6 Coll, *Ghost Wars*, p. 144.

7 Khalid Sharaf al-Din, “Fundamentalists' Leaders Bogus Organizations to Confuse the Security Organs” (Arabic), March 7, 1999, part 2 of 3.

8 Marc Sageman, *Understanding Terror Networks* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Quoted in Salah, “Events of the Jihad Years,” part 4 of 5.

9 International Crisis Group, “Yemen: Coping with Terrorism and Violence in a Fragile State,” January 8, 2003; Jonathan Schanzer, *Al-Qaeda's Armies: Middle East Affiliate Groups and the Next Generation of Terror* (Washington, D.C.: Washington Institute for Near East Policy, 2004).

10 Mohammed Muqadem, “The Journey of the Algerian Afghans from the [Armed Islamic] Group to the Al Qaeda Organization” (Arabic), *al-Hayat*, November 25, 2001, parts 1-7; Salah, “Events of the Jihad Years,” part 3 of 5.

11 Coll, *Ghost Wars*, pp. 248-49 and p. 278.



were able to carry out terrorist attacks around the world, start new national and transnational terrorist cells, aid several insurgent movements, build camps to train future generations of radical Islamists and launch a surprise attack on the only remaining superpower in the world. These considerations do not bode well for the dispersal of jihadists from Iraq. Foreign fighters in Iraq are more threatening than their Arab Afghan predecessors in several respects.

#### *Exposure to Combat*

Foreign fighters in Iraq have been exposed to intense combat since the Iraqi insurgency escalated. Unlike Arab Afghans who fought less on the battlefield, the foreign fighters in Iraq engaged coalition forces in direct combat, carried out car bombs and suicide attacks, deployed a range of improvised explosive devices and rockets, conducted kidnappings and beheadings, shot down aircraft, engaged in complex attacks against hardened targets and assassinations of high-value personnel, and intimidated the Iraqi government, the majority Shi'a population, and, more recently, Sunni insurgents and tribes that oppose them.<sup>12</sup>

#### *Networking*

Jihadists in Iraq are connected to experienced trainers, gun runners, human smugglers, guns-for-hire, criminals, forgers and other radical Islamist groups. AQI has transformed its largely foreign membership into an Iraqi one through cooptation and money. Deposed Ba'athists that cannot be integrated in the new Iraqi order may find a home in the global jihadist movement as guns-for-hire or facilitators of jihad. Although the Afghan mujahidin did not join al-Qa'ida's global movement in the 1990s, this may have been a practical problem of language. Iraq's Ba'athists speak Arabic and can mix with the Arab-dominated global jihadist movement. This was not the case with the Afghan mujahidin.

#### *Enhanced Communications Environment*

The proliferation of internet-based technologies facilitates the communication needs of dispersing jihadists and facilitates their movement. The internet enables them to maintain

communication with their networks in Iraq with relative ease, reach out to other jihadist groups for guidance on how to enter other conflict zones, and access their training manuals without having to carry them across borders. Dispersing terrorists will likely mine the internet for practical information on visas, travel regulations and routes to take.

Despite the clear advantages available to Iraq's foreign fighters over their Arab Afghan predecessors, three factors could mitigate their threat potential in the future.

First, foreign fighters are the main supply of suicide bombers in Iraq, which means they will not be around to threaten other states.<sup>13</sup>

Second, neighboring states are not likely to offer fleeing jihadists an inviting safe haven akin to the one Pakistan offered Arab Afghans in the 1980s and 1990s. The Arab Afghans were able to move between Pakistan and Afghanistan with relative ease, settling in Peshawar's many guest houses and training camps without fear of harassment or arrest. Iraq's dispersing jihadists will not have such a haven to exploit. Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Turkey are aligned with the United States and have been targets of radical Islamists. Therefore, they have no incentives to shelter fleeing jihadists.

### **“Iraq's Ba'athists speak Arabic and can mix with the Arab-dominated global jihadist movement.”**

Syria and Iran might choose to provide a safe haven for fleeing militants, but they will do so discretely to avoid incurring further hostility or military action from the United States. Jihadists that go to Iran and Syria will not be able to set up camps like the ones that developed in Pakistan during the 1980s or under the Taliban in the late 1990s.

Absence of an inviting safe haven next to Iraq means that dispersing jihadists will have to cross multiple borders and acquire documentation to enter distant havens. This, in turn, increases their vulnerability to detection and arrest. Many foreign fighters in Iraq have to turn over their cell phones, money and passports to smugglers or the insurgent groups that host them.<sup>14</sup> If they choose to leave, they will have to acquire money and forged documents to cross multiple borders to make it back to their homelands or new destinations.

Finally, dispersing jihadists will encounter vigilant Arab and European governments that are aware of their potential threat. During the Afghan campaign, Arab and European governments took in returning volunteers because they were aided by some of these governments to fight the Soviet Union. Volunteering for Iraq, in contrast, is considered a criminal act by most of these governments. Returnees from Iraq will encounter arrests, interrogation and possibly surveillance to make sure they are not a threat. European governments are not likely to welcome jihadists in their territory as they did Arab Afghans during the 1990s. These governments are on the lookout for jihadists seeking to destabilize their countries or take advantage of their territories.

#### **Conclusion: Policies for Countering the Threat of Dispersing Jihadists**

The experiences of Arab Afghans suggest several lessons for containing the potential threat coming out of Iraq.

##### *Lesson 1—Conflicts Attract Jihadists*

Many Arab Afghans went to where the action was located—Bosnia, Chechnya, Algeria and Egypt. Jihadists who wish to leave Iraq in the near future are likely to seek other conflict zones, such as Afghanistan, Pakistan and Somalia, where they are likely to be welcomed by fellow militants in need of support. Foreign fighters might also seek to join insurgent Islamist groups in North Africa, especially in Algeria.

<sup>12</sup> Michael Knights and Brooke Neumann, “A New Afghanistan? Exploring the Iraqi Jihadist Training Ground,” *Jane's Intelligence Review*, July 1, 2006.

<sup>13</sup> Mohammed M. Hafez, *Suicide Bombers in Iraq: The Strategy and Ideology of Martyrdom* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007); Richard A. Opel, Jr., “Foreign Fighters in Iraq Are Tied to Allies of U.S.,” *New York Times*, November 22, 2007.

<sup>14</sup> Qasim Hamadi, “Detailed Information on 600 Al Qaeda Fighters in Documents Captured by American Forces in Al-Anbar” (Arabic), *al-Hayat*, January 13, 2008; Karen DeYoung, “Papers Paint New Portrait of Iraq's Foreign Insurgents,” *Washington Post*, January 21, 2008.

### *Lesson 2—Jihadists Exploit Safe Havens*

Dispersing Arab Afghans exploited safe havens and governmental support in Pakistan, Sudan and Yemen. All three countries had populations sympathetic to jihadism, were relatively weak states and harbored political calculations that involved exploiting militants for national or regional interests. Therefore, countries and communities with populations sympathetic to jihadism and governments unwilling or unable to deny a haven to jihadists are at risk of attracting dispersing foreign fighters in the near future. Pakistan's tribal regions, where radicals have been receiving shelter since the 1980s and where al-Qa`ida's core leaders are believed to be currently based, is the most likely destination of fleeing jihadists. Another possible destination is Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon because those camps are policed by Palestinian factions, not the Lebanese government.

### *Lesson 3—Networking is the Key to Success*

Arab Afghans during the 1990s benefited from the network ties that developed during the anti-Soviet campaign. It took network links to enter into new conflict zones, finance training camps and acquire forged documents to move from country to country. Facilitators of jihad in Pakistan, Europe and Sudan were the backbone of the emerging al-Qa`ida global network and the key to its high-profile operations. Foreign fighters in Iraq have succeeded in forging new network ties with former Ba`athists and Sunni insurgents. Therefore, dispersing jihadists are likely to exploit these networks to exit from Iraq or build connections between facilitators inside Iraq and terrorist cells outside the country.

Governments concerned about the threat of dispersing jihadists can pursue a number of measures:

- Prioritize the problem by making programs that track the movement and dispersion of jihadists a top intelligence priority. Counter-terrorism departments must dedicate resources and personnel to monitor dispersion from Iraq and track its development over time. They must also develop databases on terrorism incidents with links to Iraq-based groups to look for patterns in network facilitation, methods and tactics.

- Treat emerging conflicts where local Muslim actors are involved, weak states and ungoverned regions as potential magnets for dispersing jihadists. Collaborate with allied intelligence services to anticipate the influx of militants into these areas

### **“Counter-terrorism departments must dedicate resources and personnel to monitor dispersion from Iraq and track its development over time.”**

and develop information on smuggling networks and routes that may facilitate the transfer of dispersing jihadists. Routes to Afghanistan and Pakistan's Federally Administered Tribal Areas should be a top priority because al-Qa`ida is likely sheltered there and has strong support structures in both countries.

- Provide allied intelligence agencies the names of Iraqi and foreign detainees in U.S. detention facilities in Iraq. These individuals should be flagged for additional scrutiny at border entry points. Immigration agencies should also have access to the names of former detainees and known foreign fighters in Iraq in case they apply for asylum as Iraqi refugees.

- Assist states to improve the quality of their passports and update their border control technologies to make it difficult for individuals to enter their territories with falsified documents.

- Engage in a robust diplomacy to dissuade governments from offering unofficial safe havens to fleeing militants. Impose sanctions and threaten the assets of sub-state actors and political parties that shelter returning jihadists for militant purposes (especially in Yemen and Pakistan).

- Develop extradition treaties and repatriation protocols to facilitate the handover of apprehended foreign fighters and fleeing jihadists. European governments in the past refused to extradite individuals to countries with dismal human rights records and capital punishment. Therefore, it might be advantageous to encourage Arab

governments to provide assurances that extradited militants will not face extrajudicial punishments or death sentences in order to facilitate their repatriation from Europe.

- Explore offering amnesty and reintegration programs to repentant foreign fighters seeking to exit the path of jihad. Those who return and provide information on their networks could be given immunity from prosecution or reduced sentences to be served in rehabilitation centers similar to the Saudi model.<sup>15</sup>

These measures comprise a comprehensive strategy to counter the threat of dispersing jihadists. They make the process of dispersion more difficult, expose militants to the risk of being apprehended at borders, deprive them of support networks and new safe havens, facilitate their repatriation to their home governments and encourage them to exit the path of jihad through rehabilitation and reintegration.

*Mohammed M. Hafez, Ph.D., is the author of Suicide Bombers in Iraq: The Strategy and Ideology of Martyrdom. Previously, he authored Manufacturing Human Bombs: The Making of Palestinian Suicide Bombers and Why Muslims Rebel: Repression and Resistance in the Islamic World. He regularly consults the U.S. government and military on issues relating to radical Islamist movements and political violence, and he has appeared on National Public Radio, Jim Lehrer News Hour, MSNBC and C-Span. In June 2008, he will join the faculty of the Naval Postgraduate School as an associate professor of national security affairs.*

<sup>15</sup> Christopher Boucek, "Extremist Reeducation and Rehabilitation in Saudi Arabia," *Terrorism Monitor* 5:16 (2007).

## Combating Terrorist Financing at the Agency and Interagency Levels

By Dennis M. Lormel

THE UNITED STATES responded immediately and decisively to the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001. Terrorist financing was, and continues to be, an integral element of the counter-terrorism strategy. A core requirement for a successful terrorist organization is funding. Disrupting the flow of funds between the source and distribution points diminishes the ability for these groups to succeed. This was one of the most important lessons learned following the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

In the aftermath of 9/11, terrorist financing became a significant focus in the U.S. government's war on terrorism and had to be dealt with on both the agency and interagency levels. Each agency having a nexus to terrorism had to establish entities and internal mechanisms to deal with terrorist financing. The methodologies developed and implemented needed to be innovative and inclusive. The interagency had to develop a meaningful and effective mechanism for initiative prioritization, coordination, cooperation and information sharing. Today, combating terrorist financing has become an important tool in the U.S. government's counter-terrorism arsenal.

### Where We Have Been

The interagency formed an informal Policy Coordinating Committee (PCC) for Terrorist Financing in late 2001, and it was formalized under the National Security Counsel (NSC) in 2002. All agencies with a nexus to terrorist financing participated in the PCC. The PCC identified the highest terrorist financing targets and developed strategies to deal with them. The primary focus of the PCC was on State and Treasury Department led designation and sanctioning actions that were supported by information provided by all participating agencies. The Department of Justice (DoJ) played a prominent role in this process.

The PCC evolved into the Counterterrorism Security Group (CSG) on Terrorist Financing. The CSG, like the PCC, is a coordinating group that has no authority over the participating agencies.

The 9/11 Commission determined that the PCC was generally successful in marshalling interagency resources to address terrorist financing following 9/11.<sup>1</sup> Interestingly, the government has come under periodic criticism for not having one agency, entity or individual with authority over all agencies engaged in terrorist financing activities.<sup>2</sup> During at least the 2002-2004 period, a subgroup from the PCC involving the NSC, Treasury, CIA, FBI and State met on

**“For the first time, financial intelligence and the transactional flow through the financial system were used for strategic, tactical and historic purposes.”**

a weekly basis to discuss criminal and intelligence investigations or operations and to continuously prioritize interagency targets.<sup>3</sup> The priority financial targets identified by this group were primarily investigated by the CIA and FBI in conjunction with each other. Led by the NSC, State and Treasury, this group also developed a strategy to deal with getting Saudi Arabia engaged in terrorist financing issues.

At the agency level, the 9/11 Commission further determined that the post-9/11 interagency response was focused and driven by a sense of urgency concerning terrorist financing.<sup>4</sup> The PCC succeeded in coordinating and prioritizing interagency activities to include diplomatic actions, sanctions and designations, and intelligence and criminal investigations. In great part as a result of this coordinated effort, the 9/11 Commission Report Card

graded the government A- for its efforts in terrorist financing. This was the highest grade given the government.<sup>5</sup>

Immediately following 9/11, both the CIA and FBI took steps to coordinate more effectively on combating terrorist financing. The CIA established the Financial Operations Group (FINO), while the FBI created the Terrorist Financing Operations Section (TFOS). Within a week, FINO and TFOS established a joint working relationship. As the relationship grew and with the passage of the USA PATRIOT Act, each entity assigned personnel to the other's operation and initiated an unparalleled information sharing mechanism. FINO and TFOS developed proactive strategic and tactical methodologies and initiatives. In addition, TFOS conducted historic or traditional financial investigations involving the review and analysis of financial records. The key was the development and implementation of time sensitive mechanisms.

For the first time, financial intelligence and the transactional flow through the financial system were used for strategic, tactical and historic purposes. Strategic financial intelligence was collected and used for analytical purposes to identify emerging trends and establish proactive strategic financial investigative methodologies. Financial information was used from a tactical perspective to engage in proactive financial investigative initiatives. From the intelligence and law enforcement standpoints, this was extremely productive. Treasury, FINO and TFOS participated together in a highly classified and successful operation tracking the flow of financial information. TFOS provided transactional information to an allied government in a near real time capacity that prevented at least four terrorist attacks in that country.<sup>6</sup> Financial information was used by TFOS, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS), Customs Service and other law enforcement agencies to build historical or traditional reactive investigations requiring the comprehensive review of financial books and records.

1 National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, “Monograph on Terrorist Financing,” Staff Report to the 9/11 Commission, p. 8, available at [www.9-11commission.gov](http://www.9-11commission.gov).

2 Major Wesley J.L. Anderson, “Disrupting Threat Finances: Utilization of Financial Information to Disrupt Terrorist Organizations in the Twenty-First Century,” Army Command and General Staff College Fort Leavenworth, April 2007, p. 56.

3 Ron Suskind, *The One Percent Doctrine* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2006), p. 144.

4 9/11 Commission, “Monograph on Terrorist Financing,” p. 7.

5 9/11 Commission, “Report Card,” 2005.

6 Testimony of FBI Deputy Assistant Director John S. Pistole before the House Committee on Financial Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, September 24, 2003.



Between 2002 and 2004, Treasury agencies—including the Office of Foreign Assets Control, the Financial Crimes Enforcement Network, IRS, Customs Service and U.S. Secret Service—focused significantly on terrorist financing. In 2004, Treasury established the Office of Terrorism and Financial Intelligence to bring all of its assets together more effectively and to play a leadership role in battling terrorist financing.<sup>7</sup> This included financial and policy analysis, enforcement and investigations.

#### **DoD's Role in Countering Terrorist Financing**

Prior to 2004, the Department of Defense (DoD) had a limited role in terrorist financing and only participated passively in the PCC. It did not have initiatives or operations specifically focused on terrorist financing. Nevertheless, DoD intelligence components did support the FBI, CIA and other law enforcement and intelligence terrorist financing operations. For example, when Iraq was invaded, FBI agents were selectively embedded with military intelligence to collect information on al-Qa`ida. This included agents from TFOS, who coordinated forwarding financial intelligence to TFOS for analysis. Subsequently, TFOS and IRS agents were deployed to Iraq and worked with DoD conducting financial investigations and intelligence collection. In addition, TFOS deployed teams of agents on a rotating basis to Guantanamo Bay to identify detainees believed to be knowledgeable about terrorist financing. With DoD support, TFOS conducted numerous interviews and developed useful lead information.

In August 2004, CENTCOM established the Threat Finance Exploitation Unit (TFEU).<sup>8</sup> The TFEU had small groups in Iraq and Afghanistan. They went beyond terrorist financing and identified the underlying problem more broadly in the context of threat finance. DoD considered the problem two-fold. There was terrorist financing, and in the broader context there was threat financing, which included weapons of mass destruction funding, narco-trafficking, organized

crime and human trafficking.<sup>9</sup> The primary focus of the TFEU in Iraq was on the insurgency, while in Afghanistan the top priority was narco-trafficking. In developing the operational concept, DoD sought to capitalize on its military resources in theater. By capitalizing on

### **“Since 2004, DoD has played an increasingly important role in the government-wide terrorist and threat financing initiative.”**

these resources, the TFEU has functioned as a valuable financial intelligence collection mechanism. This tool can be used to identify and destroy enemy threat targets. It also serves as a mechanism to share information with the interagency. Treasury has played a very active role in working with the TFEU, and DoD considers Treasury the lead agency in this area.<sup>10</sup>

There have been a variety of media reports concerning threat finance successes in Iraq.<sup>11</sup> The evolution of threat finance within DoD began at the grassroots level and progressed at a slow pace. The U.S. Special Operations Command (SOCOM) has responsibility for leading the DoD global war on terrorism. By 2006, all geographic commands were putting together threat finance cells. In addition, SOCOM dedicated resources to work in conjunction and coordinate with the interagency community in Washington.

DoD is perfectly positioned with its global presence, reach and resources to more fully engage in threat finance and the collection of financial intelligence in support of its

military objectives and the interagency terrorist financing mission. Thus far, DoD has failed to maximize its threat finance capabilities and has not established a policy for the same.<sup>12</sup> DoD is, however, engaged in a number of productive initiatives with the interagency. Treasury, for example, continues to work closely with the TFEU in Iraq. DoJ has begun a targeted initiative with the TFEU in Iraq, and DoD has assigned an officer to coordinate this project at DoJ. DoD and the FBI are working in conjunction with each other on a number of cases.

The interagency strategy between 2001 and 2003 was to use the full weight of government powers to combat terrorist financing. This included coordinated diplomatic actions, designation and sanctions, law enforcement and intelligence investigations. As the 9/11 Commission Report Card reflects, this was a success. An important element, however, was missing: military action. Since 2004, DoD has played an increasingly important role in the government-wide terrorist and threat financing initiative. Adding military action to the arsenal of diplomacy, sanctions, law enforcement and intelligence provides the government with its most robust terrorist and threat financing capability.

#### **Where We Should Go**

The interagency community must continue to evolve both at the agency and interagency levels. The challenge is that the enemy is cunning, as terrorist groups are learning organizations.<sup>13</sup> They are adept at avoiding detection and exploiting financial systemic vulnerabilities. Methodologies must continue to be developed, implemented and enhanced that disrupt and minimize the flow of terrorist and threat finance. One means to achieve this is the collection of financial intelligence that can be strategically applied to identify emerging trends. This trend analysis would be beneficial in the development and implementation of tactical operations. This is particularly important for military and law enforcement operations.

7 Testimony of Undersecretary Stuart Levey before the House Financial Services Committee, August 23, 2004.

8 Lieutenant-Colonel Darryle J. Grimes, “The Financial War on Terrorism, Grading U.S. Strategy for Combating the Financing of Terrorism,” National Defense University, April 15, 2006, p. 54.

9 Ibid., p. 50.

10 Testimony of Acting Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for Special Operations and Combating Terrorism James Q. Roberts before the House Armed Services Subcommittee on Terrorism, Unconventional Threats and Capabilities and the House Financial Services Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations, July 28, 2005.

11 Andrew Cochran, “U.S. ‘Iraq Threat Finance Cell’ Puncturing Insurgents’ Financial Network,” Counterterrorism Blog, November 20, 2007, available at [www.counterterrorismblog.org](http://www.counterterrorismblog.org).

12 Anderson, “Disrupting Threat Finances: Utilization of Financial Information to Disrupt Terrorist Organizations in the Twenty-First Century,” p. 63.

13 James JF Forest, *Teaching Terror: Strategic and Tactical Learning in the Terrorist World* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2006), chpts. 1-3.

The most significant areas of vulnerability or weakness to terrorists and terrorist organizations are communications and finances. These areas consistently lead to the disruption and dismantlement of terrorist groups and activities. Although terrorists consistently change their methods of operations and demonstrate adaptability at avoiding detection, they must communicate and raise and spend money to function. Government strategies should focus on the disruption of funding flows. The optimal situation would be to trace terrorist funds back to the point of origin and forward to the terrorist strike team or cell. This would enable the government to take action to disrupt and dismantle the identified funding stream through intelligence, investigative, Treasury enforcement, and/or military action.

To accomplish this, investigators must identify three funding tracks. First, identify funding flows between a terrorist network or organization and the point of origin. Second, identify funding flows from the network or organization to fund operations, including organizational operations and specific terrorist activities. Third, identify funding flows from operations to individuals, cells or groups.

Collecting financial intelligence information and conducting analysis to identify emerging trends should be utilized in developing strategic and tactical strategies at the agency and interagency levels. Agencies must then balance agency priorities with the priorities of the interagency CSG as part of the overall government counter-terrorism mission.

Training is the one area where the interagency has been inadequate. Training models should be developed and implemented at the agency and interagency levels. There should be a broad awareness overview for most agency personnel about the terrorist or threat financing function and responsibilities of the agency. Comprehensive training is needed for personnel assigned or interested in assignment in terrorist or threat finance. This training should include legal instruction to ensure personnel are cognizant of legal parameters and sessions on dealing with the financial and business sectors. The training should provide an overview of the jurisdiction and responsibilities of other agencies having a nexus to terrorist

or threat finance. Many individuals in one agency do not understand the capabilities or responsibilities of other agencies. These sessions should contain workshops addressing interagency issues and impediments to sharing information or working together.

Overall, the interagency has consistently done a good job in dealing with terrorist and threat finance. Nevertheless, it must conduct regular self-assessments to enhance its capabilities. It must be vigilant in identifying emerging trends and continue to develop innovative techniques. The interagency must ensure there is a consistent level of coordination, cooperation and information sharing. In so doing, there is a better expectation that U.S. national security will be safeguarded.

*Dennis Lormel retired from the Federal Bureau of Investigation following more than 30 years of government service, almost 28 years as a Special Agent in the FBI. During his distinguished career, Mr. Lormel amassed extensive major case experience as a street agent, supervisor and senior executive, particularly in complex, document and labor intensive financial related investigative matters. Immediately following the terrorist attacks of September 2001, Mr. Lormel formulated, established and directed the FBI's comprehensive terrorist financing initiative. Mr. Lormel currently serves as Senior Vice President, Anti-Money Laundering and Terrorist Financing, with the corporate security consulting firm Corporate Risk International. Mr. Lormel provides consulting services and training related to terrorist financing, money laundering, fraud and financial crimes.*

## Lessons Learned from the September 2007 German Terrorist Plot

By Petter Nesser

IDENTIFYING CLEAR TRENDS in jihadism in Europe has proved difficult.<sup>1</sup> A jihadist terrorist plot in Germany in the fall of 2007, in which German converts to Islam played key roles, testifies to the increasing complexity and amorphous nature of the jihadist threat. The case illustrates that, more often than not, the distinction between "homegrown" and "international" jihadism in the European context is vague in terms of organizational affiliation and motivational landscape. Another lesson learned is that despite alternative sources of recruitment, radicalization and training for jihadist networks on the internet, Europe's mujahidin still value and seek out real life training and personal interaction with organized groups and experienced fighters abroad.<sup>2</sup> From a counter-terrorism perspective, the case shows that Western security services have increased and improved international cooperation and their capacities to deal with the changing realities of transnational jihadism.

### A Conspiracy to Kill Americans

On September 4, 2007, German police arrested three terrorist suspects in Oberschlehdorn, Westphalia for allegedly planning and preparing three powerful car bomb attacks against U.S. interests and citizens in Germany. The core of the cell consisted of two German converts to Islam and one Turkish immigrant. They were in contact with, and received training, support and instructions from, a Pakistan-based Uzbek jihadist group called the Islamic Jihad Union (IJU).

The suspects had gathered large quantities of chemicals and military detonators. They discussed several targets, including Frankfurt International Airport and the U.S. Ramstein military airbase, as well as a restaurant/discothèque frequented by Americans. At the time of the arrests, they were in the process of manufacturing explosives (based on internet recipes) in

1 Lorenzo Vidino, "Current Trends in Jihadi Networks in Europe," *Terrorism Monitor* 5:20 (2007).

2 For an analysis of the training practices of Europe's mujahidin, see Petter Nesser, "How Did Europe's Global Jihadis Obtain Training for Their Militant Causes?" *Terrorism and Political Violence* 20:2 (2008).



a cabin in Sauerland, Westphalia. The chemical hydrogen peroxide was to be the main component of the explosive. A similar chemical was used by the London bombers and by a number of al-Qa`ida-affiliated terrorists worldwide. The suspects had gathered what amounted to more than 700 kilograms of the substance, loaded into 12 barrels. The chemical had a concentration of 35%, and theoretically it could have created an explosive force equivalent to 500 kilograms of TNT. The detonators, believed to have originated from Syrian stocks, were smuggled into Germany from Turkey by a German-Tunisian teenager, sewn into a pair of sneakers.<sup>3</sup>

The anti-terrorism operation, dubbed "Alberich," was launched in October 2006 when the U.S. National Security Agency and the CIA informed German counterparts about internet communications between IJU in Pakistan and the suspects in Germany. Altogether, 45 individuals were put

### **"Gelowicz and his associates were driven mainly by fierce anti-Americanism nurtured by contacts and interaction with extremists inside Germany, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan."**

under surveillance during the operation.<sup>4</sup> The terrorist suspects knew that they were being monitored, and implemented several counter-surveillance strategies, such as coding their communications. Nevertheless, while protecting their communications, they also took actions that seemed irrational, or at least hazardous, given that they knew they were being watched. For example, the leader of the group, Fritz Gelowicz, gave an interview to the German media complaining about being persecuted by the authorities for no

reason.<sup>5</sup> In another incident, one suspect shadowed by German agents walked up to the agents' vehicle and stabbed one of the front tires with his pocketknife.<sup>6</sup> On New Year's Eve 2006, Gelowicz and his accomplices drove a car back and forth near a U.S. military barracks in the town of Hanau; confronted by evidence, they claimed that they wanted to see "how the Americans celebrate New Year's Eve."<sup>7</sup>

#### **The Terrorist Profile**

The core of the alleged terrorist cell consisted of three individuals: two Germans and one Turkish immigrant. They have been named in the international press as Fritz Gelowicz (28-years-old), Daniel Schneider (21-years-old) and Adem Yilmaz (28-years-old). Gelowicz studied engineering; Yilmaz survived on odd jobs; and Schneider was unemployed after having served in the military.

The jihadist carrying the unlikely name "Fritz," characterized as the leader of the terrorist cell, was born in Munich and grew up in the southern German city of Ulm. By German standards, he hails from an ordinary middle class family. His father is an engineer, running a firm developing solar energy technology, and his mother is a medical doctor. His parents divorced when Fritz was a teenager. Former schoolmates say the divorce was a hard blow for the teenager, and some suggest that he turned to religion as a way of dealing with disappointment. His brother also converted to Islam, but, according to German authorities, he has never been involved with extremism.<sup>8</sup>

Gelowicz enrolled to study engineering at Ulm University, where he became a member of an extremist Islamic study circle. During regular meetings at "Cafe Istanbul," members of the group legitimized the killing of Christians, Jews and infidels. Gelowicz also became part of the "extremist scene" at the Multikultur Haus in Neu-Ulm. He befriended Yehia Yousif, a medical doctor, who acted as a charismatic imam, leader and fiery Islamist activist within this community.

5 Martin Knobbe, "Terrorverdächtiger Fritz Gelowicz; Interview Mit Einem Gefährder," *Stern*, September 13, 2007.

6 Holger Stark, "Suspect in German Bomb Plot Tells His Story," *Spiegel Online*, November 15, 2007.

7 Kaiser, Rosenbach and Stark, "Operation Alberich, How the CIA Helped Germany Foil Terror Plot."

8 Ibid.

Under the influence of Yousif, Multikultur Haus became a magnet for Islamists from all over Germany. After German authorities launched an investigation into the activities of the preacher, Yousif fled the country.<sup>9</sup>

Gelowicz lost interest in his studies and became increasingly absorbed into extreme and militant Islamism. During the winter of 2003-2004, he took some exams and achieved varying results, after which he took a leave of absence from the university, which would last for 18 months. During this period, he enrolled in Arabic language courses in Egypt and Syria and undertook religious studies in Saudi Arabia. He also undertook the hajj to Mecca during this time, together with the two other main suspects of the terrorist conspiracy. According to U.S. intelligence, in March 2006 Gelowicz and his two closest accomplices spent time in a training camp belonging to the IJU in Pakistan's tribal areas.<sup>10</sup>

#### **Motivations and Connections to the IJU**

Gelowicz and his associates were driven mainly by fierce anti-Americanism nurtured by contacts and interaction with extremists inside Germany, Saudi Arabia and Pakistan. Their radicalization appears to have accelerated after the 2003 invasion of Iraq.<sup>11</sup> Several incidents illustrate their strong hatred toward Americans. German agents, for example, observed one of the suspects and his friends trying to provoke fistfights outside a nightclub frequented by U.S. soldiers stationed in Darmstadt. When they failed to provoke any response, they slit the tires of American-made cars in the area. In a bugged conversation in a car, the suspects discussed potential terrorist attacks that only included U.S. targets. They talked about attacking airports and U.S. military barracks, and a disco with "American whores."

9 Nicholas Kulish and Souad Mekhennet, "In Plot Suspect, Germany Sees Familiar Face," *New York Times*, September 7, 2007.

10 Several militant groups linked to al-Qa`ida and the Taliban run training activities in the area. Members of high-profile British-Pakistani terrorist cells operating in Europe are believed to have obtained training in Waziristan and the North-West Frontier Province; see, for example, Kulish and Mekhennet, "In Plot Suspect, Germany Sees Familiar Face."

11 Some sources suggest that the terrorists also wanted to strike Uzbek representations in Germany; see, for example, Cerwyn Moore, "Uzbek Terror Networks: Germany, Jamoat and the IJU," *Terrorism Monitor* 5:21 (2007).

3 Marcel Rosenbach and Holger Stark, "Aladin's Stories," *Spiegel Online*, October 8, 2007.

4 Simone Kaiser, Marcel Rosenbach and Holger Stark, "Operation Alberich, How the CIA Helped Germany Foil Terror Plot," *Spiegel Online*, September 10, 2007.

Gelowicz and his cell received support from the IJU. The IJU was established in 2002 as a militant offshoot from the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), allegedly with support from al-Qa`ida.<sup>12</sup> The original aim of the group was to fight against “infidels” in Uzbekistan, implying the regime of Islam Karimov. Soon, and probably as a consequence of its association with global jihadist networks, the group also started to focus on international targets inside Uzbekistan. In 2004, members of the IJU executed terrorist attacks against U.S. and Israeli representations in Tashkent. In recent years, the IJU has recruited fighters outside Uzbekistan (predominately Europeans and North Africans) offering training in Mir Ali, Waziristan.<sup>13</sup> The group’s leader, Abu Yahya Muhammad Fatih, has claimed that the IJU is multinational, consisting of “believers from all over the world.”<sup>14</sup> In an April 2007 statement, the IJU leadership announced that the group would step up attacks internationally.<sup>15</sup>

Contacts among the German cell and the IJU appear to have been frequent, direct and enduring. The organization trained the activists, supplied them with bomb-making manuals and gave instructions on the timing of the attacks.<sup>16</sup> The IJU claimed responsibility for the attempted operation in Germany in a communiqué posted on a Turkish language web forum.<sup>17</sup>

12 The group’s leader said that “many brothers” contributed with “financial, moral, scientific and operational” support, but without specifying whether or not the “brothers” included al-Qa`ida members; see “A Chat with the Commander of Islamic Jihad Union Ebu Yahya Muhammed Fatih,” *Sehadet Vakti*, May 31, 2007.

13 Dirk Laabs and Sebastian Rotella, “Terrorists in Training Head to Pakistan,” *Los Angeles Times*, October 14, 2007.

14 “A Chat with the Commander of Islamic Jihad Union Ebu Yahya Muhammed Fatih.”

15 Moore, “Uzbek Terror Networks: Germany, Jamoat and the IJU.”

16 Members of the organization communicated with the cell in Germany via phone and internet, and they contributed with bomb manuals that showed how hydrogen peroxide of low concentration (35% in this case) could be “enriched” using flour. The suspects had purchased large quantities of flour and stored it in the cabin in Sauerland. For more information, see Kaiser, Rosenbach and Stark, “Operation Alberich, How the CIA Helped Germany Foil Terror Plot.”

17 Yassin Musharbash and Matthias Gebauer, “Islamic Jihad Union Threatens Attacks Outside Germany,” *Spiegel Online*, September 12, 2007.

### The IJU Cell: Between Homegrown and International Jihadism

It is difficult to situate the German cell within past and current patterns of jihadism in Europe. On the one hand, cell members could be considered “homegrown” because they were German citizens who became radicalized within Germany’s jihadist communities. On the other hand, the activists connected with

**“There has never been a clear distinction, however, between international and ‘homegrown’ jihadism in Europe.”**

an Uzbek organization in Pakistan that trained them and exerted a significant level of control over their activities. In terms of motivation, focus on American targets and other signs of fierce anti-Americanism suggest that the activists emphasized the international or global dimension of jihadism (such as the U.S. military presence in the Muslim world, whether it was U.S. support for Karimov’s regime in Uzbekistan, or military operations in Afghanistan and Pakistan).

There has never been a clear distinction, however, between international and “homegrown” jihadism in Europe. When the Armed Islamic Group (GIA) terrorized France in the mid-1990s, they recruited from disaffected Maghreb immigrants in French suburbs. The GIA mobilized around French interference in Algerian affairs, but also exploited growing frustrations among immigrants who found themselves stuck at the bottom of French society. When al-Qa`ida started to utilize Europe as an arena for attacks on U.S. interests around the turn of the millennium, the organization’s recruiters also targeted frustrated immigrant youths, whom they cultured and trained in paramilitary camps in Kandahar, Khost and Jalalabad.

In general, Europe’s “homegrown” terrorist cells have differed from cells controlled by the GIA and al-Qa`ida. The cells have been more “European” in terms of their sociology and motivations (cell members were second generation immigrants and converts, and, relatively

speaking, were more concerned with local European policies affecting Muslims). Yet, while there are examples that jihadist terrorists justified operations in Europe with reference to European immigration policies (The Hofstad Group in the Netherlands) and the mocking of the Prophet Muhammad (the Danish caricatures), the global dimension, and especially European military contributions in Afghanistan and Iraq, always appeared to be the most important motivational driver.

An important distinguishing feature of “homegrown” cells is that they involved “bottom-up” patterns of recruitment, in the sense that the activists themselves—inspired and radicalized by militant preachers and audio-visual propaganda—took the initiative to link up with organized militant networks for additional guidance and training.

### Conclusion

The German case seems to be consistent with “bottom-up” processes of recruitment to a certain extent, but at the same time it involved a strong element of command and control by an organized global jihadist group. This aspect of the case might indicate that jihadist organizations based in the Muslim world have regained capabilities to run operations inside Europe “hands on.”

Another lesson learned from the Gelowicz affair is that despite possibilities for recruitment, radicalization and training via the increasingly sophisticated jihadist “internet infrastructure,” personal, face-to-face interaction between recruits and experienced activists still plays an important role in radicalization processes.<sup>18</sup> Even though the activists had the opportunity to download a “terrorist start kit” from the internet, they still took the risk of mingling with Germany’s jihadist crowd and international networks in the period leading up to the alleged time

18 When the internet started to be used widely, Islamist activists established a substantial “infrastructure” on the web through which they can communicate, spread propaganda, ideological material, strategic texts, tactical advice, among other activities. Several jihadist terrorist cells in Europe have utilized the internet when preparing for terrorism, the most prominent example being the Madrid cell. For an examination of the structure of online jihadism, consult Brynjar Lia, “Al-Qaeda Online: Understanding Jihadist Internet Infrastructure,” *Jane’s Intelligence Review* 18:1 (2006).

of the attacks. They conducted extensive travel, attending language courses and religious training, and they consulted and trained with experienced mujahidin.

From a counter-terrorism perspective, the German case shows that despite the complexity of the threat, the security services have become better equipped to monitor and intercept jihadists through increased surveillance of travel and internet communications, in addition to monitoring Europe's extremist communities more closely. As a result, the terrorists acquire more limited levels of training and are unable to obtain high levels of professionalism. The fact that jihadists travel despite the security risks is in itself an indicator that the internet alone does not presently provide sufficient levels of training. The interception of the IJU cell also shows that the security services have improved international cooperation and the capacity to deal with transnational networks. Accordingly, "homegrown" terrorism constitutes a lesser threat today than it did just a few years ago because the element of surprise represented by the mujahidin that attacked Madrid and London, and the killing of Dutch artist Theo Van Gogh, no longer exists. The irony of it all is that it looks as if the weakness of "homegrown cells" is that they are not "homegrown" enough, but still dependent on international contacts and support.<sup>19</sup>

*Petter Nesser is a research fellow at FFI's Terrorism Research Group. He is trained in the areas of Social Science, Middle Eastern Studies and Arabic and is currently a Ph.D. candidate. Mr. Nesser has conducted extensive research on jihadist terrorism in Western Europe since 2003, focusing on motivational factors, recruitment and radicalization processes. His work includes well-known research reports such as "Jihad in Europe" and "The Slaying of the Dutch Filmmaker," which have been widely read and quoted. Mr. Nesser has been published in various journals, including Studies in Conflict and Terrorism. He is currently working on a book project in which he surveys terrorism by Sunni Islamist militants inside European countries dating back to 1994.*

## Mapping the Factional Structure of the Sunni Insurgency in Iraq

By Michael Gabbay

THE ZEAL AND DEXTERITY with which contemporary Islamist insurgent and terrorist groups convey their messages over the internet and satellite television channels is often cast as part of a public relations struggle with the United States over the hearts and minds of the Muslim masses.<sup>1</sup> In Iraq, it is apparent, however, that these media also increasingly serve as forums in which insurgent groups compete with each other for the loyalties not of the population at large, but rather of those who already support the insurgency, including insurgent fighters themselves. Accordingly, an analysis of insurgent rhetoric can provide a window into the factional structure and dynamics within the insurgency.

This paper describes a quantitative methodology for constructing diagrams that characterize and clarify insurgency factional structure using insurgent rhetoric as data. These "factional maps" can shed insight into insurgent dynamics involving cooperation, rivalries, decision-making and organizational cohesion. The results suggest that the coarse-graining of the Sunni insurgency into a nationalist-leaning camp on one side and al-Qa`ida-inspired jihadist Salafists on the other needs to be further resolved to serve as a guide for U.S. counter-insurgency policy.

### Factional Mapping Methodology

The data used to construct the Iraqi factional maps includes 11 Sunni insurgent groups listed in Table 1 and spans the time period from August 2005 through April 2007, just prior to a process of alliance formation among the nationalist-leaning groups. The data set consists of hundreds of translated insurgent statements from jihadist websites and interviews of insurgent group officials in print and broadcast media as provided by the Open Source Center (OSC).

The notion of factional structure involves the integration of measures of: (i) insurgent

group ideological or strategic differences; (ii) cooperative relationships between groups; and (iii) the overall influence of each group. The methodology fuses concepts from social network analysis and spatial models of politics, which frame political competition and voting behavior as occurring along a policy or ideology space.<sup>2</sup>

For the ideology measure, differences in the mix of target classes that are claimed by insurgent groups are considered. The motivation behind this choice is that disagreement over what types of targets are legitimate has often been the primary source of dissension within Islamist insurgencies.<sup>3</sup> The value of a *targeting policy* variable is calculated, which essentially scores each insurgent group by the average legitimacy of the target classes it claims operations against, where the legitimacy of each target class is the acceptability of attacking it as perceived within the ensemble of insurgent groups (at least according to their public statements).<sup>4</sup> The targeting policy is plotted along the horizontal axis of the factional maps where lower scores indicate the presence of less acceptable, more controversial targeting claims.

For the cooperative relationship measure, the study analyzes the number of either joint communiqués or declared joint operations between groups; the strength of the relationship is indicated by the thickness of the links connecting groups in the factional maps. The overall influence of a given group is assessed via its prominence within the rhetoric of the other insurgent groups, under the assumption that more influential groups will be referred to more frequently by their insurgent brethren.<sup>5</sup>

2 Melvin J. Hinich and Michael C. Munger, *Analytical Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997).

3 Mohammed M. Hafez, *Why Muslims Rebel* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003).

4 Each insurgent group's *attitude* regarding targeting a given class is rated on a 5-point scale: claimed = 2; legitimate (but not claimed) = 1; no clear opinion = 0; weak condemnation = -1; strong condemnation = -2. The average of its attitude values across the groups is the *legitimacy* of a given target class. Listed in order of decreasing legitimacy values, the target classes are: U.S. forces (2); Shi'a militias (1.7); Iraqi government forces (1.7); police (1.6); spies and agents (1.2); Kurdish militias (1.1); Iraqi civilian government (0.8); foreign civilians (0.6); oil pipelines (0.6); politicians (0.2); Sunni local leaders (0.1); Shi'a civilians (-0.6); and Sunni civilians (-0.8).

5 The prominence of a group is proportional to the num-

19 For a more thorough examination of the dilemma, see Nesser, "How Did Europe's Global Jihadis Obtain Training for Their Militant Causes?"



Group	Symbol
Islamic Army in Iraq	IAI
1920 Revolution Brigades	192ORB
Mujahidin Army	MA
Rashidin Army	RA
Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi Brigades	JAMI
Al-Qa`ida in Iraq	AQI
Ansar al-Sunna Group	ASG
Fatihin Army	FA
Iraq's Jihadist Leagues	IJL
Shield of Islam Brigade	SIB
Just Punishment Brigades	JPB

Table 1. Insurgent Groups Included in Analysis.

### Factional Structure

The factional maps are shown in Figure 1. Considering targeting policy, the groups are more evenly dispersed over the spectrum than expected from a simple binary division into nationalist-leaning and jihadist Salafist wings. Given its thinly-veiled, indiscriminate targeting of Shi'a and Sunni civilians, al-Qa`ida in Iraq appears on the extreme left whereas the Rashidin Army and the Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi Brigades, who unambiguously claim attacks only on U.S. forces, appear on the far right. In terms of prominence, AQI is seen to be very significant but nowhere near the dominant group that its overwhelming presence in the news coverage would suggest. It is the Islamic Army in Iraq that is seen to be most prominent followed by the 1920 Revolution Brigades.<sup>6</sup> On the low end of the scale, the little-known Shield of Islam Brigade is seen to have zero prominence having never been mentioned by other groups.

Observing the cooperative relationship networks, the joint operations network displays more symmetric cross-cutting between groups than does the network of joint communiqués. This likely indicates greater operational cooperation between field units on a local level as compared

with the more selective cooperation between leadership elements required for issuing policy statements. The isolation of the jihadist Salafist groups—AQI and the Ansar al-Sunna group—on this leadership level is apparent. In contrast, the groups that are commonly considered to be more nationalist in orientation—IAI, MA, 192ORB, JAMI, RA—are all inter-connected, forming a clique in social network terms. Moreover, given the substantial spread of these groups in targeting policy, the factional map suggests that it is on the level of ties among leaders, rather than ideological congruence, that the lumping of these groups into a single, nationalist-leaning camp is most on the mark. In terms of targeting policy, the IAI, which trumpets operations against an expansive list of Iraqi targets—national forces, police, Shi'a and Kurdish militias, spies and agents, government officials, and politicians—is far closer to the ASG than it is to most of the nationalist groups.<sup>7</sup>

It is striking that the IAI appears as the most prominent group and also at the center of the targeting policy spectrum. This is suggestive of a spatial politics paradigm in which positioning oneself at the location of the median voter is advantageous, but where the “voters” in this case happen to be the insurgency's pool of fighters and active supporters. Such a perspective implies that the IAI built up its power by appealing to both Salafists on the left and nationalists on the right—an inference about its factional composition that has crucial implications as will be analyzed below. The mixed composition of the IAI is also suggested by the joint operations network, where the IAI appears as a bridge between nationalist and jihadist Salafist groups. The IAI may, therefore, be better positioned than other nationalist groups to absorb fighters defecting from AQI in the wake of the recent degradation of AQI's capabilities.

A strong indication that targeting policy is indicative of broader ideological divisions is the fact that three major alliances of insurgent groups have nucleated around the most prominent group in each region of the spectrum: AQI's Islamic State of

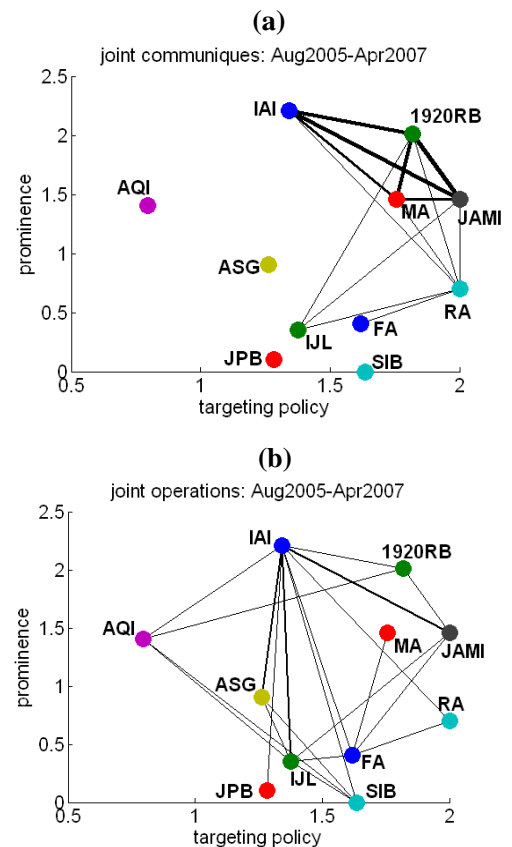


Figure 1. Factional map diagrams for the period Aug. 2005 - Apr. 2007. Links represent: (a) joint communiqués and (b) joint operations.

Iraq on the left; IAI's Jihad and Reform Front in the middle, which includes the Mujahidin Army and a splinter group of ASG (and at one point the Fatihin Army); and, on the right, the 192ORB's Jihad and Change Front which includes the Rashidin Army as well as some smaller groups.<sup>8</sup> A broad coalition called the Political Council for Iraqi Resistance (PCIR) has appeared recently whose members are the Jihad and Reform Front, JAMI and Hamas of Iraq. The dispersion of its members along the targeting policy spectrum, however, suggests that its cohesion is not high; it is doubtful that JAMI, which does not claim operations against Iraqi targets and has opposed targeting the police and Iraqi state institutions, would have the same underlying strategic agenda as the IAI. Consequently, the PCIR should not be considered as an IAI-led alliance. Rather, it may be intended primarily as a bloc for negotiating with the United States. Yet

ber of times it is referred to by other groups in the form of: (i) joint communiqués; (ii) joint operations; and (iii) simple mentions unrelated to (i) and (ii). It is normalized so that a value of 1 indicates average prominence.

<sup>6</sup> The influence of the 192ORB has been substantially reduced since it fissioned in March 2007, with the break-away faction taking the name, Hamas of Iraq.

<sup>7</sup> The strong Salafist strain in the IAI's overall rhetoric is described in Pascale Combelles Siegel, "Partner or Spoiler: The Case of the Islamic Army in Iraq," *CTC Sentinel* 1:2 (2008).

<sup>8</sup> Since its split in March 2007, 192ORB has only claimed U.S. targets, which would give it the same targeting policy as RA. Hamas of Iraq has claimed attacks against Shi'a militias, however.

the fact that the PCIR's most prominent member is also its most extreme could have serious implications for the demands of the PCIR in negotiations, particularly with respect to power-sharing with Shi'a.

### Nationalist Ideological and Strategic Divergences

This study suggests the conclusion that the spread of nationalist-leaning groups along the targeting policy dimension reflects fundamental differences in their underlying ideologies, goals and constituencies. If true, this could help explain the lack of greater consolidation among nationalist groups which would otherwise be puzzling given that their professed high level political goals are essentially identical: a territorially intact, non-federal Iraq with a basis in Islamic law and a place for all Iraqi sects and ethnic groups. This study's inference that the IAI's power base is composed of both Salafist and nationalist factions implies that in order to satisfy both constituencies, the IAI, for reasons of organizational cohesion and survival, must jointly pursue the goals that each constituency holds most dear; for the Salafists, that is Sunni Shari'a rule, and for the nationalists, it is an intact Iraq.

Accordingly, this paper contends that the IAI and its allies are deeply committed to re-establishing Sunni central rule in Iraq—a revanche, however, that is unmistakably religious in nature and for which heavy sectarian bloodletting is an acceptable cost. The IAI's declaration that the "Iranian occupation" is more dangerous than the U.S. one indicates that it is the Shi'a threat axis which is of highest priority.<sup>9</sup> The possibility that the IAI may be gearing up for a renewed sectarian battle is supported by its recent formation of special anti-Shi'a militia units dedicated to "purifying the land of Iraq from the Safavid enemy."<sup>10</sup> The IAI does not explicitly state its goal of seizing power, cannily calling for the formation of a technocratic government. The public presentation of a watered-down agenda with real goals concealed, as well as the instrumental formation of broad but loose coalitions, such as the PCIR, is classic

insurgent strategy.<sup>11</sup> The supposition that the IAI is a mix of Salafists and nationalists, however, should also be borne in mind as it implies that the IAI's freedom of maneuver is limited and it could fracture if the twin goals of Sunni rule and an intact Iraq become ever more at odds.

In contrast, groups on the right side of the spectrum, such as the 1920 Revolution Brigades and the Rashidin Army, have primarily a nationalist constituency. Consequently, they appear more committed to preserving the integrity of Iraq's Arab nature—within the context of an expulsion of U.S. forces—rather than imposing Sunni religious dominance. Although they no doubt harbor ambitions of seizing central power themselves, their strategy for doing so likely stops short of re-igniting a Sunni-Shi'a civil war. Rather, they may hope that in the event of a U.S. withdrawal, the acclaim that they and their religious authority—the Association of Muslim Scholars—would garner from their longstanding and consistent defiance of the United States, combined with the less hostile face they present toward the Shi'a, will translate into national political legitimacy and power. If this is indeed their strategy, they can be expected to publicly position themselves as the most implacable of foes to the United States. This may explain their absence from the PCIR, if that organization is indeed intended to provide a platform for negotiating with the United States, and would also be consistent with their growing criticism of the Awakening Councils. Yet, if faced with an increasingly real prospect of Iraq's partition, these groups would be more disposed to settle for a lesser goal of Sunni parity with the Shi'a, in which Sunnis are given what they perceive as a fair share of power in an Iraq freed of U.S. occupation. Tellingly, both the 1920RB and RA have dismissed the idea that the "Iranian occupation" is more dangerous than the U.S. one, which can be interpreted as both a rejection of a sectarian strategy and the notion that cutting a deal with the United States is the lesser of two evils.<sup>12</sup>

### Conclusion

The factional mapping methodology presented in this paper uses insurgent rhetoric to generate a compact quantitative and visual representation of insurgency factional structure. Given the proliferation of insurgent groups in Iraq, the methodology provides a useful way of clarifying which groups are important, where they stand in relation to each other on an ideological and strategic level, and their cooperative relationships on a political and operational level. The use of targeting policy as an ideology indicator provides finer resolution of fundamental differences between insurgent groups than simply looking at their high level political goals. Consideration of declared political goals alone leads to overestimating the level of ideological congruence between the nationalist-leaning groups, a misimpression that would be compounded by the apparently strong network of relationships among the leaderships of the major nationalist groups. Since the targeting policy is based on public rhetoric, it sheds light on the constituencies that insurgent groups rely on and compete over, and so can also be used to assess the factional composition within individual insurgent groups. This paper's conclusions about the different composition and strategies of the nationalist-leaning groups may have a crucial bearing on the trajectories of the Sunni Awakening Council militias currently cooperating with the United States given that they are reported to have a substantial number of former insurgents in their ranks.

*Michael Gabbay is a Lead Scientist with Information Systems Laboratories, Inc., a company with an emphasis on national security-oriented R&D. Dr. Gabbay's research focuses on the development of mathematical models and computational simulations of social and political systems including group decision-making and the dynamics of social networks.*

9 OSC, "Iraqi Islamic Army Spokesman on Resistance Operations, Talks with Americans," April 11, 2007.

10 OSC, "Islamic Army in Iraq Announces New Anti-Shia Militia Units, Post Video," October 8, 2007.

11 David Galula, *Counterinsurgency Warfare: Theory and Practice* (Westport, CT: Praeger Security International, 1964).

12 OSC, "Jazirah TV's Talk Show Discusses Expected US Strike Against Iran," September 23, 2007; OSC, "Jihadist Forum Posts Interview with Al-Rashidin Army Amir," August 8, 2007.

## Jihadists Target the American Dream

By Brian Fishman

JIHADIST STRATEGISTS ARE under no illusion that al-Qa`ida can destroy the United States militarily. As a result, jihadist thinkers have identified more creative strategies to mitigate U.S. military might, most of which attempt to exploit perceived social and political dynamics within the United States. These strategies are dangerous and often diabolically insightful. Such strategies are also overly optimistic, as they are often predicated on the faulty assumption that American society is inherently unstable and only needs a small push to degenerate into chaos. These strategies point to the complexity of al-Qa`ida's war on the West and illustrate why the U.S. response must be just as calculated.

### Dividing America by Derailing its Economy

In his seminal work, *The Management of Savagery*, Abu Bakr Naji argues that the power differential between the United States and its jihadist enemies is smaller than usually assumed.<sup>1</sup> According to Naji, the ability of the United States to control events around the world is based largely on a "deceptive media halo" that has convinced governments and individuals that the United States is capable of directing world events.<sup>2</sup> Naji argues that if jihadists can draw the United States into continual conflict in the Middle East, they can puncture this deceptive media halo. He also argues that the economic costs of such a conflict will spur internal social conflict in the United States, which will further undermine the halo. Naji believes that the United States is susceptible to internal conflict because the deceptive media halo papers over its own internal inconsistencies. According to Naji, by removing that halo, U.S. society will degenerate on its own.

These arguments were applied to Iraq early in the war by the Anonymous author of *Iraqi Jihad: Hopes and Dreams*, a jihadist blueprint for defeating the United

States in Iraq.<sup>3</sup> *Iraqi Jihad* is best known for its prescient analysis of Spanish public opinion just before the March 2004 Madrid train bombings, but the book's central thesis is that the United States can be beaten in Iraq by forcing it to bear the economic costs of rebuilding the country without allied help or an influx of Iraqi oil revenue.

Urging attacks on U.S. allies and Iraq's oil infrastructure, the author cites U.S. government reports to illustrate the high cost of the war. He ends the argument by triumphantly paraphrasing American

**"During the past year, al-Qa`ida has accelerated efforts to divide the United States along racial lines."**

pundits who argue that the war in Iraq is not worth the cost. *Iraqi Jihad's* author understands that the U.S. economy will not collapse under war expenses, but he is heartened by the disagreements those costs create in American society.

### Targeting Race

Abu `Ubayd al-Qurashi takes this argument one step further. Al-Qurashi posits that the dream of economic advancement is the only substantive social bond in American society. He is convinced that ethnic and racial diversity makes American society inherently unstable and concludes that if al-Qa`ida can sidetrack the U.S. economy, it can instigate racial strife that will weaken the United States:

it is clearly apparent that the American economy is America's center of gravity. This is what Shaykh Usama bin Ladin has said quite explicitly. Supporting this penetrating strategic view is the fact that the Disunited States of America are a mixture of nationalities, ethnic groups, and races united only by the "American dream," or, to put it more correctly, worship of the

dollar, which they openly call "the Almighty Dollar."<sup>4</sup>

During the past year, al-Qa`ida has accelerated efforts to divide the United States along racial lines. In a video released on May 5, 2007, Ayman al-Zawahiri spoke glowingly of Malcolm X, apparently in an effort to attract support from African American Muslims.<sup>5</sup> Zawahiri mentioned him again in a December 2007 speech.<sup>6</sup> Zawahiri's endorsement of Malcolm X makes no theological sense for a self-declared Salafi-jihadist; Zawahiri's name-dropping was base politics.

### Cracking the U.S. Foundation

Not all jihadist efforts to generate discord within the United States are predicated on economics. Jihadists understand that the "American Dream" is an expansive concept that includes notions about liberty, equality and opportunity. In November 2006, Yaman Mukhaddab published an article assessing al-Qa`ida in Iraq's declaration of the Islamic State of Iraq. Explicitly drawing on Naji's earlier work, he listed al-Qa`ida's most critical accomplishments in Iraq, culminating with the most important:

to subject the enemy to a bloody exhaustion—first, to bleed him dry economically, and then to bleed him humanly, socially, and psychologically in a way he cannot bear or compensate. This is what will lead him to defeat in the end and to turn in on himself, losing the ability, desire, or determination to continue the conflict. This will surely be accompanied by social and civil collapses within the enemy. At best, his state may disappear; at worst, his power to intervene in Muslim affairs will collapse.<sup>7</sup>

4 Abu `Ubayd al-Qurashi, "A Lesson in War," *al-Ansar*, December 19, 2002.

5 Ayman al-Zawahiri, "Interview With Ayman al-Zawahiri," *al-Sahab*, May 5, 2007. Zawahiri identified African American soldiers for a specific message: "I tell the soldier of color in the American army that the racist Crusader regime...altered the look of the shackles and changed the type of chains and try to make you believe that you are fighting for democracy and the American dream."

6 Ayman al-Zawahiri, "Annapolis—The Betrayal," December 14, 2007.

7 Yaman Mukhaddab, "Al-Qa`ida Between a Past Stage and One Announced by al-Muhajir," *Keepers of the Promise* web forum, November 14, 2006.

1 Abu Bakr Naji, *The Management of Savagery*, translated by William McCants, Combating Terrorism Center.

2 William McCants and Jarret Brachman, *Stealing al-Qa`ida's Playbook* (West Point, NY: Combating Terrorism Center, February 2006).

3 Anonymous, *Iraqi Jihad: Hopes and Dreams*, September 2003; for more, see Brynjar Lia and Thomas Hegghammer, "Jihadi Strategic Studies: The Alleged al-Qa`ida Policy Study Preceding the Madrid Bombings," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 27:5 (2004).



Many of Mukhaddab's arguments about al-Qa`ida's successes in Iraq were premature. Since he wrote, the ISI has been condemned by jihadist scholars, isolated by Sunni tribal groups and chased out of many of its former strongholds. Operationally, al-Qa`ida in Iraq is in dire straits. Nonetheless, al-Qa`ida's supporters will likely claim a strategic success in Iraq because of the economic and social strain the conflict places on the United States. For Mukhaddab, sustaining direct confrontation between al-Qa`ida and the United States—rather than operational victories—is the best indicator of strategic success. Glued to Western media for signs of social tension in the United States, Mukhaddab believes that sustained confrontation with al-Qa`ida is eating at the very foundation of the country. As Mukhaddab sees it:

Al-Qa`ida has put a complete end to these foundations that hold together this doddering sinful society (The United States), held together as a society only by the values of personal freedom, the freedom to acquire, and the freedom of capital. As soon as these disappear, the bonds of the society, being based only on them, will of necessity dissolve. The collapse will become only a matter of time. It will take place when the citizens lose their patience over the disappearance of these foundations. And this is what has begun to be clearly visible in American society. Everything we read, hear, and see of commiseration about freedoms and unease about the repression and restriction of freedom of opinion and freedom of capital is only the first sign of this unrest over the loss of the foundations of the building of this vulgar, materialistic society.<sup>8</sup>

Mukhaddab's argument suggests that partisan shouting matches pitting national security concerns diametrically against civil liberties do not completely reflect the strategic threat jihadists pose. Just as the 9/11 attacks were designed to bait the United States into invading Afghanistan, Mukhaddab hopes that continued conflict with al-Qa`ida will bait the United States into undermining its intellectual foundation.

Mukhaddab's ideas are innovative, but that does not mean his strategy is viable. Like *Iraqi Jihad's* author, Mukhaddab's argument reveals that he misunderstands the utility of heated debates in a healthy democracy. There is no doubt that laws such as the USA PATRIOT Act spark impassioned arguments, but those disagreements hardly represent an existential threat to the United States. Considered within the historical scope of American efforts to balance civil liberties with national security concerns, these are solvable problems.

#### Key Issues for the Future

The vast majority of U.S. thinking about al-Qa`ida addresses the group's ability to strike the United States and its allies militarily. This is appropriate, as a government's first priority is to protect its citizens. Indeed, al-Qa`ida's ability to strike at the United States in creative and dangerous ways should not be underestimated. Yet, the focus on al-Qa`ida's military threat should not obscure the jihadist ideological assault on the American dream. The most important pieces of al-Qa`ida's strategy to undermine the United States are social and political, not military. There are a number of lessons from this fight that should be applied to the U.S. strategy to combat al-Qa`ida and its associated movements.

1. *Keep the eye on the ball.* Al-Qa`ida wants to prevent the United States from being able to project power around the world. Since its ability to do so is a function of military, economic and political strength, al-Qa`ida would like nothing better than to distract the United States from policies that bolster and safeguard those strengths. Fighting jihadists is not a grand strategy by itself. Policies that undermine the international trading system, American competitiveness versus growing economies, the ability to project (and credibly threaten) military action against rivals and the ability to contain state challengers do not serve U.S. long-term interests.

2. *Jihadists understand the basis of American power.* Naji, al-Qurashi and Mukhaddab correctly identify American ideals and economic strength as critical pillars of American power. Jihadists will target these pillars militarily, but they understand that in a war that will last decades, political and social attacks will be more effective. Al-Qa`ida has—and will again—attempt to bait the United States into military

actions that undermine American social, economic and political strengths.

3. *Jihadist thinkers assume that the American behemoth has a fragile core.* Jihadists understand the power, but not the durability, of American ideals. Perhaps because of the religious grounding of their ideology, they do not fully comprehend the strength of a society built around secular concepts of liberty, equality and opportunity.

4. *Jihadists will try to find credible messengers.* Al-Qa`ida's leaders understand they are not credible messengers to the American people, which is why al-Qa`ida's most sophisticated propaganda videos cobble together commentary by Western pundits to advance their agenda.<sup>9</sup> Al-Qa`ida would like to invert the American strategy of finding and empowering voices that delegitimize al-Qa`ida among Muslims. For all of the reasons cited by Mukhaddab, however, Americans should be loath to stifle political debate for fear of manipulation by al-Qa`ida's propagandists.

5. *Jihadist predictions may backfire.* Jihadist predictions of imminent social chaos in the United States serve an internal propaganda purpose. By offering prospective jihadists a blueprint for "victory," they excite people to join the movement. In the long-run, however, this is a double-edged sword. If confident jihadist predictions of victory do not produce results, potential supporters may lose faith in their leadership.

*Brian Fishman is a Senior Associate at the Combating Terrorism Center and an Associate Professor in the Department of Social Sciences at West Point. Mr. Fishman has published numerous articles on al-Qa`ida's strategy in Iraq and elsewhere. Before coming to the Combating Terrorism Center, Mr. Fishman worked on Defense and Foreign Affairs for Representative Lynn Woolsey. He has a BA from UCLA and a master's degree in International Affairs from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.*

8 Ibid.

9 "The Power of Truth," al-Sahab, September 20, 2007.

## The Growth of Militant Islamist Micro-Diaspora Communities: Observations from Spain

By Kathryn Haahr

THE APPARENT EASE with which predominantly foreign jihadists of the Salafist ideology are able to continually penetrate and manipulate the social, religious and professional spaces of micro-diaspora communities in support of global jihad indicates the strengthening of grassroots jihadist support structures. While the majority of Spanish Muslims are law abiding and consider themselves to be a part of Spanish civil society, increased numbers of what can be called a “third jihadist generation” are extending their base by leveraging socio-cultural and ideological variables.<sup>1</sup> This emerging jihadist space is concerning primarily because it indicates that a strict and orthodox ideology advocating violent jihad is motivating and convincing Muslims to radicalize. Spanish police and intelligence sources are increasingly concerned about the growing influence of young, second generation militant Islamists.<sup>2</sup> The aggressive nature of jihadist planning and recruitment activities in Spain highlights the need to have a counter-terrorism strategy that emphasizes the multifaceted social, cultural and political variables of grassroots Muslim communities throughout Spain.

### Cultural and Demographic Variables in Recruitment Activity

The growth of micro-diaspora communities—predominantly formed of Maghrebis, Algerians and Pakistanis—is due to the continued influx of immigrants who travel to Spain for primarily family reasons and, therefore, employment. The importation of Salafist Islamist ideologies and jihadist sources of information, the growth of jihadist terrorist cells, radical imams, and the allure of defending the

plight of the global umma have created new socio-cultural and ideological reference points for Spanish Muslims. Since before the March 11, 2004 Madrid attacks, Salafist Islamists have been using international and localized cultural variables to influence the attitudes and behaviors of Spanish Muslims toward radicalization. Cultural variables are physical and non-physical local cultural characteristics in a demographic environment that shape attitudes and behavior patterns in response to ideas, and include:

- Physical transmitters: mosques, imams, educational institutions, books and tapes, family, social, prison and professional networks. This includes public spaces bordering ethnic and “native” communities.

- Non-physical transmitters: internet (online ideas), symbols and images, observable behaviors and activities, and codes of conduct.

Available information indicates that jihadist recruiters have been successful in exploiting cultural variables in distinct micro-diaspora communities to recruit Muslims in support of operations in Iraq, Afghanistan, Spain, North Africa and elsewhere in Europe. This development is evidenced in the increased numbers of recruits to radicalization throughout

**“He purportedly encouraged the suicide bombers to wear jeans and modern dress, and to refrain from growing long beards.”**

Spain. For example, senior recruiters (typically the leaders of networks), spiritual leaders and explosives experts will identify, vet and then recruit new network or cell members for specialized activities, such as suicide operations, propaganda, or incorporation into logistical networks. As part of their recruitment tactics, recruiters seem to use different religious and socio-cultural variables to influence their recruits, and to facilitate their own integration into the micro-diaspora communities in which they are living and operating.

Spanish counter-terrorism operations and investigations into jihadist cells and their recruitment activities will provide useful insights into and context about the ways that radicalized actors manipulate cultural variables to their advantage.

### Case Study: Cultural Variables in the Recruitment Patterns of 11-M and 2007 Barcelona Suicide Cell

In the cases of 11-M and the 2007 Barcelona terrorist plot, senior members were radicalized abroad and had direct links to militant Islamist organizations. They maintained a strong commitment to global jihad, were devoutly religious, and were able to successfully recruit and radicalize Spanish Muslims from various ethnic pools of diaspora communities.

*The Dhadah Network:* Recruiters centered their recruitment activities at the Madrid Abu Bakr mosque, and at social/professional and religious gatherings to recruit sympathizers. Most of the Dhadah network’s members shared professional, social and family connections. Dhadah used a sophisticated step process, similar to a recruitment process, to identify and vet. As part of his recruitment activities, Dhadah would pass out jihadist propaganda in mosques in and around Madrid. His network recruited circa 20 new members during the 1990s: some were sent to training camps in Afghanistan, some of whom returned to Spain or traveled to other jihad fronts. In an attempt to identify prospective recruits, he studied the faces of people leaving the mosque after prayer sessions to approach those whom he considered to be of most interest. Once the potential of the individual was assessed, the recruiters would invite the individual to participate in innocuous meetings where they would discuss the situation of Islam. It is not clear from available information what the vetting process was for these members, or if the recruiters provided financial or other incentives (assistance with work, support to family members, etc.).

*Barcelona Kamikaze Recruitment Cell:* In March 2007, Spanish security personnel broke up a jihadist recruitment cell that had trained and sent to Iraq an estimated 32 jihadist suicide bombers. Spanish National Police sources noted that the recruiter, Moroccan Mbark El Jaafari, used a strategy to “Westernize” his typically young recruits so that they could better integrate into Catalan society.

1 The third jihadist generation concept is based on Mustafa bin `Abd al-Qadir Setmariam Nasar’s (also known as Abu Mus`ab al-Suri) strategic thinking. See Murad al-Shishani, “Abu Mus’ab al-Suri and the Third Generation of Salafi-Jihadists,” *Terrorism Monitor* 3:16 (2005). Spanish intelligence authorities believe that al-Suri played a direct role in planning the Madrid bombings.

2 *El Pais*, June 17, 2007; *El Pais*, July 2006.

He purportedly encouraged the suicide bombers to wear jeans and modern dress, and to refrain from growing long beards; he would then send the recruits to smaller towns in Catalonia where a “sponsor” would help them find employment. After this socio-demographic preparation, the “trainees” would travel to Iraq, Algeria, or Afghanistan.<sup>3</sup>

Most recruits seem to be driven by two motivations: professional (to serve the global jihad), and spiritual and personal (a belief in martyrdom). While it is not clear from available information how strong the desire for martyrdom was for the recruits detained in Spain to date, the majority upheld an extreme religiosity. It is evident that Spanish Sunni Muslims are a recruitment target. What is not clear is what kind of Muslim becomes a target for jihadist recruiters, although the majority of recruits have come into contact with the recruiters in shared religious and social networks. Some characteristics of potential recruits include:

#### *Socio-Demographic Factors*

Radicalized Spanish Muslims are predominantly young, first generation adult males who attend any number of Muslim social and religious settings. Many are middle class, have been educated in Spain (some have advanced technical degrees), have family, and are fluent in Spanish. Some have obtained Spanish citizenship, but the majority possess work permits. It is likely that these young recruits have a strong spirituality and probably navigate in Islamist ideological circles, particularly mosques and organizations, such as Tablighi Jama`at (JaT) of the 11-M and Barcelona ‘08 typology.

#### *Authority Figures and Ideology*

The imams and spiritual leaders recruiting for jihadist networks are marketing the religious concept of offensive jihad. Offensive jihad coincides remarkably with Abu Mus`ab al-Suri’s strategic concept that emphasizes “individual terrorism” and urges that mass mobilization and participation in individual terrorism is necessary for the jihadist movement’s success.<sup>4</sup> These imams seem to have

been radicalized overseas and travel to Spain under special permits to instruct in mosques.<sup>5</sup>

#### *Motivational Factors: Intent to Engage in Offensive Jihad*

Detailed accounts of militant Islamists detained and imprisoned from 11-M to date indicate that the majority of jihadists were associated with Salafism prior to their radicalization to militant Islamism.<sup>6</sup> Experts now term these radicalized individuals as “neo-Salafists,” whose basis of jihad is founded on “an inflexible and timeless reading of the Qur’an and the hadiths. Neo-Salafists are socialized in an intense hatred of those they consider

### **“According to a Spanish report, jihadist networks recruit approximately three Spanish Muslims a month from Catalonia for either suicide bombings in Iraq, or for training in Afghanistan, Pakistan and North Africa.”**

to be infidels and, among other possible interpretations, they accept the most clearly bellicose definition of jihad, both in terms of defense and aggression.”<sup>7</sup> Al-Qa`ida’s and other Islamist organizations’ hostile rhetoric is aimed at recuperating al-Andalus (the Iberian Peninsula and Northern Africa during the Umayyad Caliphate) and at Spain’s

born, Spanish citizen, senior al-Qa`ida member whom the Pakistani security services arrested in 2005 in Waziristan.

5 Since 2004, Spanish security services have detained, and in some cases, expelled, approximately 17 imams from primarily the northeast of Spain. For more information on this, see Javier Jordan, “Las Redes Yihadistas en España: Evolucion desde el 11-M,” October 4, 2007, available at [www.athenaintelligence.org](http://www.athenaintelligence.org). This article does not include the January 2008 arrest of the Barcelona imam in El Raval.

6 Javier Jordan, Fernando Manas and Humberto Trujillo, “Perfil Sociocomportamental y estructura organizativa de la militancia yihadista en España: Analisis de las redes de Abu Dhadah y del 11-M,” *Jihad Monitor*, March 8, 2007.

7 Fernando Reinares, “Conceptualizing International Terrorism,” ARI #82, Real Instituto Elcano, 2005.

involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan. Virtual and physical propaganda extolling the virtues of jihad could motivate curious, religiously motivated Muslims to seek out ideological and spiritual havens that lead them down the radicalization path.

A detailed window into the existence and strengthening of micro-diaspora communities is Jordi Moreras Palenzuela’s singular examination of the dynamics of Catalanian Islam. His most recent work focuses on the El Raval neighborhood in Barcelona in which the recent JaT-associated Pakistani suicide bombing cell operated. El Raval is primarily dominated by Pakistanis who own their businesses, many that include women as business partners. The places of worship are predominantly Pakistani, and the Islamic expressions that are celebrated in the neighborhood are organized by Pakistani Muslims. In sum, El Raval is a nationalistic space in which politics (close ties to Pakistanis in Pakistan and the United Kingdom), religion, work and social life revolve around Pakistani elements.<sup>8</sup> According to a Spanish report, jihadist networks recruit approximately three Spanish Muslims a month from Catalonia for either suicide bombings in Iraq, or for training in Afghanistan, Pakistan and North Africa.<sup>9</sup>

An emerging characteristic of the Spanish jihadist model is unaffiliated terrorists who are part of informal, Salafist-inspired groups that are not formally linked to any one terrorist organization and operate in a “bee-hive” organizational infrastructure. These individuals tend to organize themselves around a commonly shared ideology of global jihad, one in which the religion of Islam is molded to serve their violent objectives. At times, small groups of “independently” inspired radical Muslims appear in villages and towns throughout Spain, especially in agricultural areas, to troll for recruits. These individuals operate exclusively within Spain to recruit young Muslims into jihad after they have settled in Spain, as opposed to relying on foreign jihadists. Some recruits are converts, hence the concern about homegrown terrorists.

3 Kathryn Haahr, “Catalonia: Europe’s New Center of Global Jihad,” *Terrorism Monitor* 5:11 (2007).

4 Paul Cruickshank and Mohannad Hage Ali, “Abu Musab al Suri: Architect of the New al Qaeda,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 30:1 (2007). Al-Suri is a Syrian-

8 Jordi Moreras Palenzuela, “Islam y Configuración Comunitaria entre los Paquistaníes en Barcelona,” *CIDOB d’Afers Internacionals*, núm. 68, p. 119-132.

9 *El Periodico*, April 2007.



<b>Terrorist Incident/Year</b>	<b>City, Region</b>	<b>Socio-Demographic Considerations</b>	<b>Missions</b>	<b>Links to AQ, Other Terrorist Groups</b>
Operations NOVA I & II ('04)	Madrid	1 <sup>st</sup> generation males; predominantly Moroccan immigrants (exact legal status not clear), but also a Spanish citizen, an Afghan and a Turk; several had been involved in delinquent crimes	Tactical operational cell to conduct terrorist attack; explosives group; target was the Madrid headquarters of the National Court	"Martyrs for Morocco," professed allegiance to GIA; several had connections to some 11-M members
Operation Tigris ('05)	Andalusia, Catalonia, Ceuta	1 <sup>st</sup> generation males; 11 Moroccans, two Algerians, two from Ceuta (legal status unclear); some had committed petty crimes	Recruitment cell for jihadist operations in Iraq	11 cell members linked to Ansar al-Islam; five had links to 11-M network
Pakistani Cell ('05)	Barcelona	Pakistani 1 <sup>st</sup> generation males (exact legal status not clear); some were residents	Tactical operational cell to conduct terrorist attack; explosives group; targets were civilian landmarks	Head of cell was linked to Mohamed the Egyptian, senior member of 11-M
Operations Chacal & Camaleon ('06)	Madrid, Catalonia, Basque Country	15 Moroccan male immigrants (exact legal status not known), including three Spanish citizens and other nationalities; Moroccans had ties to other European jihadist cells	Recruitment cells for proselytism, recruits for jihad in Iraq, North Africa	Cell believed to be a Moroccan branch in Spain of Hizb al-Tahrir
Ceuta Operation ('06)	Ceuta	Young men, all except one (Moroccan on work permit) were Spanish citizens (one was member of Spanish Armed Forces)	Recruitment cell for jihadist activities; tactical operational cell for planning explosives attack against various targets in the city	Salafi-jihad
Operation Tala ('07)	Barcelona, Madrid, Malaga	Moroccans and Algerians, reportedly tied to '06 jihadist networks (see Chacal and Camaleon)	Recruitment cell for proselytism, recruits for jihad in Iraq, North Africa; the imam of Santa Coloma de Gramanet was arrested for preaching militant Islamism and recruitment	Cell believed to be a Moroccan branch in Spain of Hizb al-Tahrir; AQIM; some helped several 11-M members escape
Suicide Cell ('07)	Reus	Leader of cell was Moroccan immigrant, had legal papers; tied to Casablanca terrorist attack; use of cultural cues for covert recruitment and indoctrination	Suicide recruits for Iraq, and for jihad in Algeria and Morocco	Provided terrorist infrastructure supporting GSPC and al-Qa`ida
"Tabligh" Operation ('08)	Barcelona	1 <sup>st</sup> generation Pakistani males, radicalized abroad, legal residents, work permits; cell had designated spiritual leaders (including an imam)	Tactical operational terrorist cell; explosives group; targets included metro	Cell members identified themselves as of the Tabligh ideology

Table 1. Operational and Demographic Characteristics of Major Terrorist Attacks.\*

\* Created by author using information predominantly from media sources. For a detailed characterization of jihadists who have had prison sentences, see Fernando Reinares, "Hacia una Caracterización Social del Terrorismo Yihadista en España: Implicaciones en Seguridad Interior y Acción Exterior," ARI #34, Real Instituto Elcano, 2006.

### Observations of Trends and Indicators

While there is no general culture of a global jihad movement among Spanish Muslims, Spain is experiencing the rooting of Islamist movements and ideologies. The most significant aspect of radicalization in Spain is Salafist Islamism's espousal of radical activities, namely recruiting for global jihad in sermons and outreach activities at official and unofficial mosques. Future trigger points are in the

**“Nonetheless, at some point, a spiritual leader has, thus far, been needed to further guide the young recruits toward deeper spiritual lessons.”**

creation of parallel Muslim societies—already in place in countries like France and the United Kingdom—which would certainly be more permeable to jihadist doctrines and activities. A characteristic to consider is where there are centers of gravity and what these centers and their pathways tell counter-terrorism analysts and operators about the variables involved in shifting attitudes and behaviors toward radicalization. Some of the more important signposts to assess are:

- Role and evolution of radical ideas. Transnational jihadist networks increasingly are influencing the perceptions, ideas and beliefs that contribute to the growth of Islamist radicalization and mobilization, and seek to target all Muslims in their global reach. Two important considerations should be noted: first, the appeal of neo-Salafism clearly has taken root in various diaspora communities that include both lower and middle classes; second, not all of the radicalized Spanish Muslims have been socially and economically marginalized. Therefore, it is crucial to understand in which ways religion and other doctrinal characteristics could be outweighing socio-economic considerations in influencing shifting attitudes and behavior patterns toward radicalization.<sup>10</sup>

- Current and future leadership of Muslim organizations. An understanding of who is emerging to inspire Spanish Muslims, as well as non-Muslims, in religious and intellectual ways is important for appreciating the future political and social sentiments of future generations of Spanish Muslims, especially those in positions of authority in religious and social organizations. Intra-ethnic tensions, which already play out in the competition among various Islamic and Islamist organizations, could cause a splintering between groups and their followers in crucial areas such as support for Islamic law. There are overt and subtle indicators of wedging for counter-terrorism operators to evaluate, the most important variable being the use of rhetoric in media and non-media sources, and indications of social stratification in the micro-diaspora communities.<sup>11</sup>

- Changing role of the internet. A trend in Spain is the departure from “physical recruitment” activities toward virtual recruitment. CDs, laptops (11-M) and the internet are driving self-recruitment activity. Nonetheless, at some point, a spiritual leader has, thus far, been needed to further guide the young recruits toward deeper spiritual lessons. To date, almost all of the major jihadist networks had created structured recruitment activities; it is difficult to ascertain the *a priori* exposure of the recruits to internet recruitment, to Islamist ideologues such as Abu Mus`ab al-Suri, or to radical Islamic messages. For example, a Burgos jihadist indoctrination cell was the first plot detected and broken up in Spain that followed and promoted global jihad via the internet.<sup>12</sup>

- Strengthening of “mobile jihad satellite platforms”<sup>13</sup> that can only exist based on a grassroots support base. The primary nodes in this model are Barcelona, Madrid, Andalusia and the Spanish enclaves of Ceuta and Melilla. The members of these jihadist networks are multiethnic and interconnected not only with each other, but with other jihadist networks in Europe. For example, senior members

of the 11-M and Abu Dhadah networks not only interacted closely, but maintained ties with several members of the Hamburg cell.<sup>14</sup> To date, all members of the jihadist networks have demonstrated a commitment to both regional (Iraq, North Africa) and local (Spain) jihads. This dual operational and doctrinal capability to carry out terrorist attacks becomes akin to a borderless entity and poses tough challenges to Spanish and European counter-terrorism operations.

- Increase in suicide bombing tactics and techniques. Al-Qa`ida in the Islamic Maghreb and Pakistani jihadists who have trained in Afghanistan, Iraq and Pakistan are bringing back not only ideological and recruitment tactics from the international jihad, but also the combat techniques, such as IEDs, suicide bombings and potential chemical attacks. The Spanish Guardia Civil has assessed the January 2008 suicide cell in Barcelona as having an identical profile to the London group that perpetrated the 2005 attacks.<sup>15</sup>

*Kathryn Haahr is a national security consultant to public and private sector clients on a range of issues in the areas of international security and regional threats. She focuses on the intersection of cultural influences and terrorism dynamics, energy security, WMD, and other transnational subjects. Ms. Haahr received a master's degree in International Public Policy with a concentration in Middle Eastern and European Comparative and Regional Studies from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies.*

11 The author has developed a methodological approach to identify and weight the cultural variables that influence radicalized attitudes and behaviors.

12 *El País*, October 2007.

13 Analyst term; refer to Kathryn Haahr, “New Reports Allege Foreign Fighters in Iraq Returning to Europe,” *Terrorism Focus* 3:20 (2006).

14 For specific details, see Jordan, “Perfil Sociocomportamental y estructura organizativa de la militancia yihadista en España: Análisis de las redes de Abu Dhadah y del 11-M” and Kathryn Haahr, “Assessing Spain's al-Qaeda Network,” *Terrorism Monitor* 3:13 (2005).

15 *El País*, January 2008.

10 Of course, Salafist movements will continue to target immigrant populations that are socially and economically excluded and live in marginalized diaspora societies.

## Drawing the Right Lessons from Israel's War with Hizb Allah

By Andrew Exum

A RECENT ARTICLE IN *USA Today* announced that the U.S. military was learning from Israel's 2006 war against Hizb Allah in southern Lebanon. The lesson, at first, seems to be clear. "Counterinsurgency tactics," *USA Today* reported, "could leave U.S. forces vulnerable to the kind of coordinated attacks that stymied Israel."<sup>1</sup> Echoing these concerns and writing in *World Politics Review* on March 4, West Point professor Gian Gentile argued that the U.S. Army had already become like the Israeli Defense Forces (IDF), "so focused on irregular and counterinsurgency warfare that it can no longer fight large battles against a conventional enemy."<sup>2</sup> Is this true, and is the U.S. military drawing the correct lessons from the 2006 war?

It is impossible to gauge the degree to which the U.S. Army's conventional combat skills have been eroded by the focus on counter-insurgency warfare in Iraq and Afghanistan. It is certainly likely that the high operations tempo, endless deployments and shortened training schedules have more to do with any erosion in collective task proficiencies than counter-insurgency manual FM 3-24. Yet, the U.S. military is almost certainly drawing the wrong lessons from the 2006 war if it is used to ignore the hard won lessons of counter-insurgency and revert back to the kind of conventional war-fighting with which the U.S. military has always been more comfortable.

Drawing the wrong lessons has happened before. In the aftermath of the Vietnam War, the presence of a conventional threat from the Soviet Union allowed the U.S. Army and Marine Corps to shelve the counter-insurgency lessons learned during more than a decade of fighting in Southeast Asia. Counter-insurgency warfare, as John Nagl is fond of saying, is "graduate level warfare." Intellectually, then, it was easier for the U.S. Army officer corps to go back to defending the

Fulda Gap against imaginary Soviet tank divisions using the same tactics employed in the Second World War. In the same way, the belief that the United States might someday fight like Israel did in 2006 is being used by some to argue for a reversion back to what the U.S. military does best and finds easiest: conventional warfare.

That said, the comparison between the IDF and the U.S. Army and Marine Corps is admittedly tempting. Following Israel's 2000 withdrawal from southern

**"Whereas the U.S. military, post-Vietnam, is a professional military, the IDF is still largely manned by conscripts."**

Lebanon, the IDF grew accustomed to operations in the Palestinian Territories which, in some ways, closely resemble the counter-insurgency operations currently being undertaken by the U.S. Army and Marine Corps in Iraq. The IDF then grew complacent and rusty. Furthermore, although many units performed admirably in southern Lebanon, as a whole the IDF was caught off-guard by the kind of fighting they experienced there. The reserves, especially, were poorly prepared and inadequately equipped.

There are several reasons, however, why this analogy does not hold as much water as some would like. First, the U.S. Army and Marine Corps are not the IDF. Whereas the U.S. military, post-Vietnam, is a professional military, the IDF is still largely manned by conscripts. While the IDF soldier's ferocity, patriotism and tactical decision-making have often been noted as being among his strengths, individual soldier discipline is rarely mentioned as a trait for which the IDF soldier is praised. Some units take particular pride in their indiscipline and scruffy appearance. This may have positive effects on morale in some cases. Yet, in asking how Hizb Allah intercepted Israeli communications during the 2006 war, it is worth noting that in cases when encrypted communication failed, IDF soldiers simply used their personal cellular phones to communicate on the

battlefield.<sup>3</sup> It is hard to imagine a U.S. Marine Corps gunnery sergeant allowing a similar situation.

In the same way, it is similarly hard to imagine the U.S. military's professional and non-commissioned officer corps allowing the kind of institutional complacency that haunted the IDF in the years following 2000. Simply put, the cultural differences between the U.S. military and the IDF—and the differences between conscripted armies and professional armies—must be taken into account before any comparison is made between historical experiences.

The greatest mistake the U.S. military can make in studying the lessons of 2006, however, is to study the 34 days of fighting that took place in southern Lebanon in July and August of that year without any context. Nevertheless, this seems to be what is happening.

In January, during a conference in which the author participated at the U.S. Army War College on what lessons can be drawn from the conflict with respect to information operations, Hizb Allah was widely considered to have cleverly manipulated the media during the conflict. Yet, if one were to ask Hizb Allah about their information operations *during* the conflict, the internal assessment would be much more negative. Indeed, during the 34 days of fighting, Hizb Allah's performance in the sphere of information operations was uneven. Where Hizb Allah enjoyed the most success in information operations was in the years *before* the conflict—carefully setting the conditions within which the battle would be fought—and in the weeks and months *after* the shooting stopped. The information operations campaign is not confined to a 34-day window of time, and an attempt to understand Hizb Allah's success in that field is doomed to fail if confined as such.

In the same way, the U.S. military's insistence upon only studying the tactical lessons provided by the 34 days of open fighting between the IDF and Hizb Allah is also misguided. As U.S. Army Captain Daniel Helmer persuasively argues in his study of the IDF's failed counter-insurgency efforts in southern Lebanon from 1982 to 2000, Israel never dealt with

1 Tom Vanden Brook, "US Learns from Israel-Hizbollah War," *USA Today*, February 14, 2008.

2 Gian P. Gentile, "Misreading the Surge Threatens U.S. Army's Conventional Capabilities," *World Politics Review*, March 4, 2008.

3 Personal interviews, IDF officers, November 2006 and January 2008.



the root political problems in southern Lebanon that led to the rise of Hizb Allah.<sup>4</sup> The 2006 war did not take place in a 34-day vacuum; it was merely the latest bloodshed in a dispute between Israel and Hizb Allah that has been fought with varying degrees of intensity since 1982.

The 2006 war was not evidence, then, that Israel had over-learned the lessons of counter-insurgency, but rather the opposite: Israel has never effectively learned counter-insurgency in the first place. Even in the West Bank and Gaza, the IDF continues to approach the fighting there as a counter-terrorism mission instead of a counter-insurgency mission. Moreover, while the presence of both a radicalized settler population and historical animosities might preclude the application of an effective counter-insurgency strategy in the Occupied Territories, Israel has never developed and applied counter-insurgency doctrine along the lines of FM 3-24 despite years of experience in irregular warfare dating back to Jewish guerrilla groups in pre-state Israel.

Finally, unless the Mexican government dissolves and a modern-day Pancho Villa begins to lob Katyusha rockets across the border into Texas, it is unlikely the U.S. military will ever face an adversary exactly like Hizb Allah. Yet, in more general terms, Israel's war against Hizb Allah belongs to the kind of conflicts that political scientist Erin Simpson labels "hybrid wars."<sup>5</sup> These wars occur when nation-states go to war against non-state or sub-state actors and combine elements of conventional warfare with characteristics of irregular warfare. Although air power enthusiasts such as Major General Charles Dunlap have argued for a more robust use of air power in unconventional war, historical evidence suggests that air power based punishment strategies such as that employed by Israel in 2006 are not effective against guerrilla groups in hybrid wars.<sup>6</sup>

Mastering hybrid warfare means mastering the tactics found in both FM 3-24 and FM 7-8. U.S. Army and Marine Corps units must be proficient in both conventional combined arms combat as well as the kind of population-centric approach encapsulated in the new counter-insurgency doctrine. This is clearly asking a lot of the officer corps, but perhaps not any more than what has been asked of it already in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Hybrid warfare also means civilian and strategic decision-makers must be realistic about what military power alone can accomplish in such conflicts. By all accounts, the IDF was sent into southern Lebanon with an impossible mission—to "destroy" Hizb Allah. By 2006, however, Hizb Allah had grown into a political-military organization claiming the loyalty of perhaps 1.5 million Lebanese Shi'a. Hizb Allah runs schools, manages hospitals and elects members of parliament. No military on the planet could have been expected to destroy the organization in 34 days of fighting.

In some wars, history teaches us that you cannot shoot or kill your way to victory. As U.S. Army Colonel H.R. McMaster has written, "the principal lesson of the wars in Afghanistan, Iraq and southern Lebanon might be that military campaigns must be subordinate to a larger strategy that integrates political, military, diplomatic, economic and strategic communication efforts."<sup>7</sup> Guns, bombs and tactics from the Second World War are simply not enough. This has been the harsh lesson of the U.S. military's counter-insurgency campaigns since 2001, and this is also the enduring lesson of Israel's war with Hizb Allah.

*Andrew Exum is a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania and the American University of Beirut. He is currently a Ph.D. candidate in the War Studies Department at King's College London where he studies Hizb Allah and military innovation theory. A former U.S. Army officer, Mr. Exum led a platoon of light infantry in Afghanistan (2002) and then a platoon of Army Rangers in Iraq (2003) and Afghanistan (2004). He is the author of This Man's Army: A Soldier's Story from the Front Lines of the War on Terrorism (2004) and "Hizballah at War: A Military Assessment" (2006).*

7 H.R. McMaster, "On War: Lessons to be Learned," *Survival* 50:1 (2008): pp. 19-30.

## Guest Commentary: Benazir Bhutto's Doomed Return to Pakistan

By James R. Ellis, Lt. Gen. U.S. Army (Ret.)

TWO MONTHS HAVE passed since Benazir Bhutto's assassination. After listening to the news and commentary, I decided to offer a personal perspective having spent two years in Pakistan during the period of Bhutto's first term as prime minister.

My assignment to Pakistan was in response to the August 1988 plane crash that killed President Zia ul-Haq, more than a dozen of his government officials, U.S. Ambassador Arnie Raphel, and the senior U.S. military officer in the country, Army Brigadier General Herb Wassom. After the crash, my wife and I were rushed to Islamabad where I replaced General Wassom. At that time, there were several key issues at stake: heightened tensions between Pakistan and India (over Kashmir and other concerns); operation of a multibillion dollar Military Assistance Program; the investigation into the cause of the plane crash; and support for the Afghan "freedom fighters" (mujahidin) opposing both the invading Soviet Army and the puppet communist government in Kabul (although this was not within my charter, I did get to know many of the U.S., Pakistani and Afghan leaders of that effort). One immediate goal was encouraging the Pakistani military to support the return to civilian government, and it was the subsequent election that fall which brought Bhutto to power.

Pakistan has a most unique culture formed by more than 4,000 years of South Asian (Hindu) history, 1,300 years of Islamic religion and 200 years of British rule. It is surrounded by Afghanistan, Iran, India, China and the former Soviet Union—a tough neighborhood. Internal strife is the norm, suspicion of and conflict with India is a constant, and the border area with Afghanistan is as wild as any place in the world. No one (Alexander the Great, India, Russia, or Britain) has ever been able to control the region or the tribes there, nor can the current Pakistani government. The several times I visited the area, I was always with a Pakistani Army escort. The U.S. press and many policymakers are relatively uninformed about the culture, geography and demography of this country that is so key to the "war on terrorism"

4 Daniel Isaac Helmer, *Flipside of the COIN: Israel's Lebanese Incursion Between 1982-2000* (Fort Leavenworth, KS: Combat Studies Institute Press, 2007).

5 Erin M. Simpson, "Thinking about Modern Conflict: Hybrid Wars, Strategy, and War Aims," paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, April 7-11, 2005.

6 Robert A. Pape, *Bombing to Win: Air Power and Coercion in War* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1996).

and to stability in a critical region of the world. Also, it should not be forgotten that Pakistan is an Islamic country and more than 99.5% of the population (160 million) is Muslim.

I met Bhutto a few times during her first term. She was personable and engaging, but had problems governing due to persistent accusations that she and her family were corrupt. In fact, it was charges of corruption that led to her removal from the prime minister position on two occasions. There are strong allegations that the Bhutto family stole billions from the national treasury and

**“Bhutto had been a darling of the U.S. press, and from her return to Pakistan until her assassination the media failed to present her in a balanced manner.”**

government contracts while she was in office. Her husband was known as “Mr. Ten Percent,” meaning that if one wanted to do business with the government of Pakistan they had to pay him 10% of the contract. He spent several years in jail on corruption charges.

Bhutto had many enemies—including some members of her own family who believed that she was involved in the death of at least one of her brothers. Also, her political party, the Pakistan People's Party (PPP), is only one of several vying for power. Many groups had a motive for her assassination.

Bhutto had been a darling of the U.S. press, and from her return to Pakistan until her assassination the media failed to present her in a balanced manner. If Bhutto's full history had been highlighted ahead of her return, there would have been less hope in the West that she would “restore democracy” and a greater realization that her return was fraught with danger. It has been reported that the U.S. State Department brokered her return as a way of bolstering U.S. and international support for Pakistan and its continued assistance in the war on terrorism. Now, as a result of her assassination, this move could backfire, a consequence that should

have been foreseen.

Some pundits have railed against Pakistan's inability to protect a political candidate. Yet, from the time it was announced that Bhutto would return it was a foregone conclusion that assassination attempts would be made against her. Given the way she mingled with the crowds and the fact that crowd control in the country is extremely difficult, it was only a matter of time before someone or some group was successful. Indeed, before criticizing other governments for failure to provide security to their political leaders, we should look at our own history to see how difficult this can be. The United States has had four presidents assassinated in its history, and there have been many assassination attempts against sitting presidents and presidential candidates. Just in the 60 years since Pakistan became a separate country (1947), the United States has seen the assassination of both President John F. Kennedy and presidential candidate Senator Bobby Kennedy. Additionally, there were more than a half-dozen other assassination attempts, including the shooting of President Ronald Reagan. This country, however, has been strong enough to survive such violence without destroying our constitution or our democratic values.

Now, the United States must look beyond Bhutto's assassination because a more serious concern is the future stability of Pakistan, and the guaranteed security of the country's several dozen nuclear weapons.

While Americans deplore the assassination and resulting violence and desire movement toward a more democratic society, it is my assessment that we cannot afford to turn away from Pakistan. We must—for our own national interests—maintain our influence there by supporting whatever government emerges from the recent elections. Of equal importance, we must continue to support the Pakistani Army if we are to have success in neighboring Afghanistan and in maintaining continued stability in the region. Many in the West do not wish to accept the fact that Pakistan's Army is the strongest and most enduring institution in the country and is the greatest source of internal stability; during previous periods of government by elected prime ministers, it was the Army's decision whether or not

to back the government that determined its lifespan and success.

*LTG(R) James R. Ellis graduated from West Point in 1962 and later received a master's degree in International Relations from Princeton University. He commanded two Infantry Companies in combat—the first with the 82nd Airborne Division in the Dominican Republic during the country's 1965 Revolution, and the second with the 1st Infantry Division in Vietnam. He also served a year in Vietnam as an Advisor. His General Officer assignments included two years as U.S. Defense Representative to Pakistan, Commanding General of the 10th Mountain Division, Deputy Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Central Command (CENTCOM), and Commanding General of Third Army (Patton's Own), the Army component of CENTCOM. In these last two assignments, he made many visits to East Africa, the Middle East and South Asia and had extensive contact with political and military leaders.*

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## Recent Highlights in Terrorist Activity

February 13, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): Three Afghan government soldiers were killed after a bomb exploded next to their convoy in Musa Qala district, Helmand Province. One of the convoy's vehicles was destroyed during the explosion. – *AFP, February 13*

February 13, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): An Italian soldier was killed by Taliban gunfire in Sarobi district, Paktika Province. A Taliban spokesman claimed credit for the attack. – *AFP, February 13*

February 13, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): Coalition forces killed at least four suspected Taliban fighters in Uruzgan Province. A handful of Taliban fighters were also detained during the operation. – *The Canadian Press, February 13*

February 13, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Two people were killed when an 8-10 car election campaign convoy was hit by a roadside bomb in the Swat valley in Swat District, North-West Frontier Province. The election team was preparing for the February 18 general elections. – *Reuters, February 13*

February 13, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Purported Baitullah Mehsud spokesman Maulvi Omar told Reuters that Pakistan's Taliban movement would not attack the country's general elections on February 18, stating, "Our central leadership have decided that as we have nothing to do with the elections, therefore there would be no attacks from our people. Neither do we support the process of the election nor do we have any opposition to it and if any attack takes place before or on election day, our mujahid won't be involved in it." Omar also denied involvement in the disappearance of Pakistan's ambassador to Kabul, Tariq Azizuddin, stating, "We have no links with it. We don't know anything about that." Azizuddin disappeared while in Pakistan's tribal Khyber region on February 11. – *Reuters, February 13*

February 14, 2008 (PHILIPPINES): Philippine authorities claimed to have foiled a plot by the Abu Sayyaf Group and Jemaah Islamiyah to assassinate the country's president, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, and to bomb foreign embassies. – *AP, February 14*

February 14, 2008 (THAILAND): According to Xinhua, quoting Thailand's *The Nation* newspaper, two men were killed on their way to a rubber plantation by suspected insurgents in Narathiwat Province. They were targeted by M-16 assault rifle fire. – *Xinhua, February 14*

February 14, 2008 (ISRAEL): A new posting on Islamist web forums by the head of the Islamic State of Iraq, Abu `Umar al-Baghdadi, called for major attacks on Israel and suggested that Iraq should become a "launching pad" to take over Jerusalem. During the 30-minute audiotape, al-Baghdadi calls for "opening new fronts to ease the American and Jewish pressure off the Palestinians while bolstering the fronts in Iraq and Afghanistan." The leader also chastised Palestinian elements that are working within the state system, saying that jihad makes "no distinctions between the infidel Jews and the renegade Palestinians... between [Israeli Prime Minister Ehud] Olmert and his criminals and [Palestinian President Mahmoud] Abbas and his gang." He also criticized the Hamas leadership, describing them as those who "betrayed the nation and turned against the blood of the martyrs." – *AP, February 14*

February 14, 2008 (GERMANY): Authorities arrested a German citizen of Pakistani descent who is suspected of providing financial and logistical support to al-Qa`ida. The suspect, identified as Aleem Nasir, was suspected of "making four trips between April 2005 and June 2007 to Pakistan's border region with Afghanistan to deliver at least \$5,850 in cash," according to an Associated Press report. The report quoted prosecutors in the case who stated that the suspect also brought "binoculars, night-vision goggles and radios—to al-Qaida members in positions of responsibility." It is also alleged that the suspect recruited into al-Qa`ida another individual living in Germany. – *AP, February 16*

February 15, 2008 (IRAQ): Two suicide bombers targeted Shi'a worshippers, killing at least three, in Tal Afar, Ninawa Province. The attack targeted worshippers at the Shaykh Juwad mosque. – *AP, February 15*

February 16, 2008 (IRAQ): Sabah al-Janabi, the leader of an anti-al-Qa`ida Awakening Council in Juruf Sakher village near Hilla, said that 100 members of his anti-al-Qa`ida group have handed in their resignations to the U.S. military. The reason, according to al-Janabi, is due to "organized assassinations by the coalition forces." Speaking about an incident earlier in the day in which he claimed three of his Awakening Council members were killed by gunfire from a U.S. helicopter, "It was the third incident in a month. We have lost 19 men while 12 have been injured because of coalition attacks." – *AFP, February 17*

February 16, 2008 (PAKISTAN): A suicide car bomber rammed his explosives-laden vehicle into an election office, killing at least 37 people in Kurram Agency in the Federally Administered Tribal Areas. According to initial reports, most of the victims are from the Pakistan People's Party. – *AP, February 16*

February 17, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): Approximately 80 people were killed after a suicide bomber detonated his payload in the middle of an outdoor dog fighting competition on the outskirts of Kandahar. Authorities believe that the target of the attack may have been Abdul Hakim Jan, a local anti-Taliban militia leader. He was killed in the attack. – *AP, February 17*

February 17, 2008 (IRAQ): Three people were killed after a female suicide bomber detonated her explosives vest while being pursued by security forces in Baghdad's Karrada district. – *Reuters, February 17*

February 17, 2008 (IRAQ): A car bomb detonated in Mosul, killing one policeman who was examining the vehicle. The bomb was exploded remotely. – *AP, February 17*

February 18, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): An estimated 35 civilians were killed after a suicide car bomber targeted a convoy of Canadian armored vehicles patrolling the Afghanistan-Pakistan border area. Four Canadian soldiers were injured during the attack. – *National Post, February 19*

February 18, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): Speaking in Brussels, NATO military commander General John Craddock warned that the Taliban will likely reduce the number of conventional attacks due to persistent failure and instead increase the number of "irregular, asymmetric" attacks, such as suicide bombings and other "sensational" operations. – *Financial Times, February 20*

February 18, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): NATO and Afghan forces killed two regional Taliban commanders in Helmand Province. The commanders were identified as Mullah Abdul Matin and Mullah Karim Agha, and it is believed that the two were responsible for several suicide bombings in the province. – *AP, February 21*

February 19, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): A car bomb was remotely detonated in Kandahar, killing one civilian. Authorities believe that the missed targets were two Afghan National Police trucks that passed by the explosives-laden vehicle. – *National Post, February 19*

February 19, 2008 (PHILIPPINES): The Philippine military announced that they have discovered the body of who they believe is top Jemaah Islamiyah bomb expert Dulmatin, who is suspected of involvement in the 2002 Bali bombings. The body was discovered in a shallow grave on Tawi-Tawi Island, and the FBI is involved in testing DNA from the body to confirm whether it is Dulmatin. – *AFP, February 19*

February 19, 2008 (IRAQ): The American Forces Press Service announced that the U.S. military will soon launch Operation



Marne Grand Slam, aimed at attacking leftover al-Qa`ida remnants southeast of Baghdad. According to a UPI report, "The operation specifically involves clearing a peninsula that stretches into the Tigris River south of Salman Pak and then increasing U.S. troop presence in the surrounding area to support the local population." – *UPI, February 19*

February 19, 2008 (IRAQ): U.S. soldiers detained six suspected al-Qa`ida affiliated fighters in Baghdad and Samarra. One of the detainees is believed to have helped senior al-Qa`ida leaders travel through Baghdad. – *AP, February 19*

February 19, 2008 (IRAQ): Suspected al-Qa`ida fighters killed a family that was involved in resisting al-Qa`ida's presence in Ba`quba. According to authorities, "They killed the 60-year-old man, his wife, their son Mustafa, 18, and a 35-year-old neighbor" after entering their home. It is believed that the family recently joined an Awakening Council. – *AFP, February 20*

February 19, 2008 (IRAQ): Iraqi soldiers killed two Saudis and one Algerian suspected of al-Qa`ida involvement. The raid came after information was gathered during an interrogation of a local al-Qa`ida leader. The information led authorities to an al-Qa`ida hideout in Samarra, where the Algerian and Saudis were discovered. – *AFP, February 20*

February 19, 2008 (KYRGYZSTAN): The Kyrgyz government announced that it had discovered and apprehended a group of al-Qa`ida operatives operating in the country. The last of the suspects was detained on February 15, according to reports. – *Reuters, February 19*

February 20, 2008 (IRAQ): The U.S. military announced that it doubted reports that the two women suicide bombers that struck Baghdad in February had Down syndrome. The women, however, had sought psychiatric treatment, but it is unclear what their conditions were. – *Washington Post, February 21*

February 20, 2008 (IRAQ): A suicide bomber detonated his explosives in a market in Muqdadia, 30 miles northeast of Ba`quba. Approximately 10 people were killed in the blast. – *AFP, February 20*

February 20, 2008 (IRAQ): One woman was killed after a suicide car bomber

detonated his explosives in Tal Afar, Ninawa Province. – *AFP, February 20*

February 20, 2008 (IRAQ): The U.S. military released a report stating that three individuals suspected of being leaders in al-Qa`ida in Iraq were killed or captured recently. One of the men was identified as "Abu Karrar," who military authorities suspect is one of al-Qa`ida's leaders for operations in Baghdad and Diyala Province. – *UPI, February 20*

February 20, 2008 (MOROCCO): According to Morocco's official news agency, authorities recently foiled an Islamist terrorist plot to kill Jews, cabinet ministers and army officers in the country. The cell, which was in possession of a large amount of weapons, allegedly raised funds through petty crime and robbery in Europe. More than 30 people have been arrested in connection with the cell, and authorities allege that the group had links to al-Qa`ida. – *AP, February 21*

February 20-21, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): Afghan authorities neutralized a terrorist cell in Kandahar Province by arresting 10 of its members. It is believed that the cell was responsible for a series of recent bombings in the province that have killed more than 100 people. The arrests occurred in Kandahar city and Arghandab district. – *AP, February 21*

February 21, 2008 (PHILIPPINES): The Philippine military is trying to confirm reports that top Jemaah Islamiyah operative Umar Patek was wounded during a gun battle with government troops on Tawi-Tawi on January 31. It is the same gun battle that the government believes killed Dulmatin, another top JI operative. Authorities, in conjunction with the FBI, are still determining whether the body discovered is indeed Dulmatin. – *Philippine Star, February 21*

February 22, 2008 (IRAQ): A suicide bomber killed at least four people after detonating his explosives at the entrance of the al-Rahman mosque in Falluja, Anbar Province. – *Gulf News, February 23*

February 22, 2008 (IRAQ): Three civilians were killed after a bomb, concealed under a horse-drawn cart, was remotely detonated in Baghdad. – *AP, February 22*

February 22, 2008 (IRAQ): Two policemen were killed after an explosives-laden car

exploded in Tikrit. The seemingly disabled vehicle was in the process of being towed into the local police headquarters when the booby-trapped car exploded. – *AP, February 22*

February 22, 2008 (THAILAND): Lukman B. Lima, the leader of the separatist Pattani United Liberation Organization, warned the Thai government that failure to grant autonomy to the provinces of Pattani, Narathiwat and Yala would result in an escalation of the insurgency. Lukman is in exile in Sweden. – *AP, February 22*

February 22, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide car bomber attacked an Afghan army patrol in Khost Province. There were no casualties other than the death of the assailant. – *AP, February 22*

February 22, 2008 (PAKISTAN): A roadside bomb killed at least 13 people in Swat Valley in the North-West Frontier Province. Those killed were wedding guests, and the dead included the bride, her father and several children. – *Voice of America, February 22*

February 23, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Two paramilitary soldiers and one policeman were killed after Islamist militants attacked a government checkpoint near Peshawar. – *AP, February 24*

February 23, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): Seven Afghan guards were killed after the vehicle in which they were traveling hit a landmine in Kunar Province. The guards were providing security to a road construction company. – *AFP, February 23*

February 23, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber detonated his explosives next to a police vehicle in Farah Province, although there were no fatal casualties other than the bomber. – *AFP, February 23*

February 23, 2008 (YEMEN): Jaber al-Banna, a Yemeni-American and one of the FBI's 26 most wanted terrorists, "appeared at a session of his trial in a Yemeni court Saturday with bodyguards and then walked free, apparently not subject to any form of incarceration," according to the Associated Press. The trial charged al-Banna and 22 other al-Qa`ida members for involvement in attacks on oil facilities. Al-Banna is one of the 22 al-Qa`ida prisoners who escaped from jail in Yemen in February 2006, only to later surrender to authorities. He was

not, however, sent back to jail after his surrender. The United States is offering a \$5 million reward for his arrest. – *AP, February 23*

February 23, 2008 (IRAQ): Suicide bombers killed one of the senior leaders of an Awakening Council in Falluja, Shaykh Ibrahim Mutayri al-Mohammedi. The shaykh was killed in his home in an operation that allegedly involved five members of al-Qa`ida in Iraq, all of whom were killed in the explosion. – *BBC News, February 24*

February 24, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Maulvi Omar, the spokesman for Tehrik-i-Taliban, told reporters that the Taliban movement in Pakistan is “looking for dialogue with those who got elected” in the country’s recent elections. Omar, however, also said, “We want peace, but if they impose war on us, we will not spare them...We don’t want political parties to repeat the mistake which Musharraf committed and follow a path dictated by the U.S.” – *AP, February 24*

February 24, 2008 (IRAQ): At least 50 people were killed after a suicide bomber detonated his explosives among a large group of Shi`a pilgrims in Iskandariyya. The explosion occurred when the group was gathered in a refreshments tent while on their way to Karbala to celebrate the annual Arbain festival. – *Reuters, February 24; AP, February 25*

February 24, 2008 (IRAQ): Three Shi`a pilgrims were killed after being attacked by gunmen in Dora, a predominately Sunni neighborhood in Baghdad. – *AP, February 24*

February 24, 2008 (YEMEN): Yemeni authorities announced that they foiled an attack on a crude oil pipeline in Marib Province and arrested a number of the alleged perpetrators. – *Reuters, February 24*

February 24, 2008 (MAURITANIA): A Mauritanian judge announced that five Mauritians and two Tunisians have been charged for involvement in the February 2 attack on the Israeli Embassy in the country. It appears that the men are not yet in custody, although the judge expects their arrests shortly. – *AP, February 24*

February 25, 2008 (TANZANIA): Police in Tanzania are in the process of

interrogating nine suspects who allegedly planned to bomb various locations during the recent visit of President George W. Bush. The arrests, which occurred in Dar es Salaam and Arusha, included one suspect who authorities are certain was involved in the Paradise Hotel attack in Mombasa, Kenya in 2002. In total, five of the suspects are Tanzanian nationals, while three are Arabs and one Asian. Authorities did not clarify the exact date of the arrests. – *The East African, February 25*

February 25, 2008 (IRAQ): Three National Police officers were killed and nine wounded after a suicide bomber in a wheelchair detonated his explosives at a police station in Samarra. According to press reports, the bomber had arranged a meeting between himself and Brig. Gen. Abdul Jabbar Rabei Muttar. When Muttar went to greet the wheelchair-confined bomber, he detonated his explosives which were concealed under the wheelchair seat. General Muttar was among the dead. – *CNN, February 25*

February 25, 2008 (IRAQ): Four Shi`a pilgrims were killed by a roadside bomb south of Baghdad. – *AP, February 25*

February 25, 2008 (PHILIPPINES): Philippine marines killed an Islamic militant in the remote Tipo-Tipo town on Basilan Island. The firefight occurred after the marines encountered a group of suspected Abu Sayyaf Group militants while on patrol. – *Philippine Inquirer, February 26; philstar.com, February 26*

February 25, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): The Taliban released a statement warning the four cell phone companies that operate in Afghanistan to cease operating every night between 5 PM and 7 AM. The Taliban stated that NATO and U.S. forces were tracking the movement and location of their fighters through cell phone signals, in addition to intercepting their cellular transmissions. If the companies fail to cease operations between the time period specified, the statement warns that the Taliban will target “their offices, suboffices and tower stations.” – *New York Times, February 26*

February 25, 2008 (SOMALIA): Somalia’s Youth Mujahidin Movement (YMM) released an internet statement claiming to have captured a strategic town 15 miles south of Baidoa. The statement claims that the YMM attacked the Dinsor

military base in Bay Province, and in the ensuing fight 300 government soldiers allegedly fled their positions. According to the statement, “We have driven out the apostate soldiers and have acquired many weapons, including four armored military vehicles.” – *AKI, February 25*

February 25, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Surgeon General Lieutenant General Mushtaq Baig was assassinated by a suicide bomber in Rawalpindi, the highest-ranking officer to be killed in Pakistan’s fight against Islamist militants that largely began almost two years ago. The attack occurred as the general’s vehicle was stopped in traffic on his way home from his office. Seven others were killed in the attack, including Baig’s bodyguard and driver. Witnesses report that the suicide bomber ran up to the vehicle pretending to be a beggar. – *guardian.co.uk, February 25*

February 25, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Pakistani authorities arrested Qari Saifullah Akhtar on the suspicion that he was involved in an October suicide bombing attack on Benazir Bhutto and her supporters, although the attack failed to kill Bhutto; she was later assassinated in a separate suicide bombing on December 27. Authorities stated that Bhutto named Qari Saifullah Akhtar as a suspect in the October attack before her death. It is believed that Akhtar used to run al-Qa`ida’s Rishikor training camp in Afghanistan during the rule of the Taliban. – *AP, February 26*

February 25, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Police arrested four militants in Lahore who were suspected of plotting terrorist attacks on foreign missions. The men are allegedly members of Lashkar-e-Jhangvi, an al-Qa`ida-linked militant group. Authorities claimed that one of the suspects, Fahad Munir, confessed to involvement in the November 1 suicide bombing on a bus transporting military personnel in Sargodha, which left eight people dead. – *AP, February 26*

February 25, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Approximately 12 militants attacked the offices of the non-governmental organization Plan, an aid group that works with local communities to offer education and other benefits to children. The attack, which occurred in the North-West Frontier Province, left three staff members dead. – *CNN, February 25*

February 26, 2008 (ALGERIA): Algerian security forces killed an al-Qa`ida in the Islamic Maghreb leader in Legatha, which is 40 miles east of Algiers. The leader, who was identified by the alias "Abdi Abdi," was suspected of involvement in the September 12, 2006 bomb attacks on police stations in Dergana and Reghaia, in addition to a June 2007 attack in Reghaia that left two police officers dead. – *AP, February 27*

February 26, 2008 (ISRAEL): Major General Amos Yadlin told the Knesset's Foreign Affairs and Defense Committee that al-Qa`ida operatives had slipped into the Gaza Strip during the January 23 border breaching incident on the Egyptian border. – *Jerusalem Post, February 26*

February 26, 2008 (IRAQ): At least eight people were killed after a suicide bomber exploded on a bus near Mosul in Ninawa Province. There are conflicting reports, however, as one account stated that the bomber detonated his explosives after being confronted by a soldier who had boarded the bus at a checkpoint. – *Reuters, February 26*

February 26, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): Five policemen were killed after a bomb destroyed their vehicle in Khost Province. – *AFP, February 26*

February 26, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide bomber attempted to kill coalition forces in Kandahar, but his explosives detonated prematurely after he was hit by coalition gunfire. – *AFP, February 26*

February 26, 2008 (UNITED STATES): The Pentagon announced that charges against Ali Hamza Ahmad Sulayman al-Bahlul, who is accused of creating propaganda videos for al-Qa`ida and assisting Usama bin Ladin, have been finalized. The Yemeni faces a military trial at the Guantanamo Bay naval base. A trial date, however, has not been set. – *AP, February 27*

February 26, 2008 (UNITED KINGDOM): Mohammed Hamid, who refers to himself as "Usama bin London," was convicted of operating terrorist training camps in England and of recruiting Muslims to attend the camps. One of the men who attempted to bomb London's public transportation system on July 21, 2005 had attended one of the camps. – *Washington*

*Post, February 27*

February 26, 2008 (TUNISIA): A Tunisian court sentenced 17 men to prison terms ranging from 2-12 years for creating a terrorist cell with links to al-Qa`ida in the Islamic Maghreb. The men were all arrested in 2006. – *Reuters, February 27*

February 27, 2008 (IRAQ): The U.S. military killed two Saudi al-Qa`ida militants in Mosul, one of which, Abu Yasir al-Saudi, was believed to have been behind the deaths of five U.S. soldiers on January 28. The two foreign fighters were hit by a helicopter precision missile strike as they were driving in the city. – *AP, March 2*

February 27, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): A six-hour gunfight erupted in Helmand Province after Taliban militants engaged a government team that was destroying opium crops in Marja district. According to the provincial police chief, approximately 25 Taliban fighters were killed during the battle, including a Taliban commander known as Mullah Naqeebullah. – *AFP, February 28*

February 27, 2008 (THAILAND): A Thai soldier was killed after his patrol vehicle was hit by a roadside bomb in Krongpinang district of Yala Province. – *Bangkok Post, February 27*

February 27, 2008 (SINGAPORE): Mas Selamat bin Kastari, a leading operative of Jemaah Islamiyah, escaped from a police detention facility in Singapore. Kastari was arrested by Indonesian police on that country's island of Bintan in January 2006, and custody was given to Singapore, where he has been detained ever since. Kastari was the leader of the Singaporean wing of JI. – *Reuters, February 28*

February 28, 2008 (PAKISTAN): A house in Kaloosha village of South Waziristan Agency was destroyed by a missile, killing approximately 10 suspected Islamist militants, some of whom were believed Arab in origin. Press reports speculated that the missile was possibly fired from a U.S. Predator drone and that the targets were connected to al-Qa`ida. – *Reuters, February 28*

February 28, 2008 (UNITED STATES): The U.S. Treasury Department announced

that it had placed economic sanctions on four individuals—Badran Turki Hishan al-Mazidih, Ghazy Fezza Hishan al-Mazidih, Akram Turki Hishan al-Mazidih and Saddah Jaylut al-Marsumi—who are accused of facilitating the flow of weapons, money, terrorist operatives and other materials from Syria into Iraq. – *AP, February 28*

February 28, 2008 (IRAQ): Authorities arrested an insurgent leader who led a cell that recruited women for suicide bomb operations. According to the U.S. military, "The ringleader was a man trying to recruit women to carry out SVEST (suicide vest) bombings. The cell leader used his wife and another woman, to act as carriers of his next SVEST attack." The arrest occurred near the town of Kan Bani Sad in Diyala Province. – *AP, March 1*

February 29, 2008 (PAKISTAN): A suicide bomber detonated his explosives during a funeral for a slain police officer, killing at least 50 people in Mingora of Swat District, North-West Frontier Province. – *Chicago Tribune, March 4*

February 29, 2008 (PHILIPPINES): National police chief Director General Avelino Razon told reporters that authorities had arrested three days earlier a foreigner involved in a plot to assassinate President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo and bomb foreign embassies in the country. Little information was revealed about the suspect, except that he has links to Jemaah Islamiyah and al-Qa`ida. The foiled terrorist plot was first revealed by authorities on February 14. – *The Age, February 29*

March 1, 2008 (PHILIPPINES): A bomb exploded at a bar near a Philippine military camp on Jolo Island. U.S. troops involved in the country's counter-terrorism mission were present at the camp at the time of the explosion. Two Filipino soldiers were injured, along with four female bar employees. – *AP, March 2*

March 2, 2008 (PAKISTAN): A suicide bomber killed at least 39 people on the outskirts of Peshawar during a meeting of tribal leaders. The leaders were attending a *jirga* with the intent to form a "committee of locals" to oppose anti-government militants. – *Reuters, March 2*

March 2, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): According to local officials in Helmand



Province, gunmen destroyed a cell phone tower in Sangin district. The attack was the third of its kind since a February 25 Taliban statement warning four cell phone companies that operate in Afghanistan to cease operating every night between 5 PM and 7 AM. – *RFE/RL, March 3*

March 2, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): A Canadian soldier was killed after a convoy bringing supplies to an Afghan army outpost was hit by a roadside bomb. The attack occurred near an area known as Mushan, 28 miles southwest of Kandahar city. – *Globe and Mail, March 3*

March 2, 2008 (IRAQ): The U.S. military announced that a car bomb killed at least four people in Samarra, including one child. – *AP, March 3*

March 2, 2008 (IRAQ): A combined U.S.-Iraqi military operation targeted an al-Qa`ida in Iraq cell that was involved with assassinations and bomb attacks in Ninawa Province. The operation resulted in the killings of nine suspected insurgents, and the capture of eight others. – *AP, March 6; The Canadian Press, March 6*

March 2, 2008 (GLOBAL): Al-Qa`ida released a new video eulogy for their slain operative Abu Laith al-Libi, who was killed by a U.S. Predator drone in Pakistan in late January. The new video, which was posted on jihadist web forums, displays the deceased body of al-Libi. – *AP, March 2*

March 2, 2008 (GLOBAL): A new book by al-Qa`ida second-in-command Ayman al-Zawahiri appeared on Islamist internet forums. In the 215-page book, Zawahiri attacks the “revisions” of a number of former radical Islamist leaders who have spoken publicly against certain al-Qa`ida tactics, especially suicide bombings and attacks that kill large numbers of civilians. In the book, titled *Exonerations*, Zawahiri says that “this message that I present to the reader today is the most difficult, if not the hardest I have written in my life,” and argues that former jihadist ideologues who have come out publicly against al-Qa`ida’s violent tactics are serving “the interests of the Crusader-Zionist alliance with the Arab leaders to drug the mujahidin and drag them away from the confrontation.” – *AP, March 3*

March 3, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): Taliban fighters attacked a NATO and Afghan

military compound in Sabri district, Khost Province. During the attack, the fighters fired on soldiers guarding the compound, and then drove a truck bomb into the compound, detonating it inside. The number of casualties were not immediately reported. – *Reuters, March 3*

March 3, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): Two NATO soldiers and two Afghan civilians were killed after a suicide car bomber targeted a government building in Yaqoubi district, Khost Province. – *AP, March 4*

March 3, 2008 (SAUDI ARABIA): The Saudi Arabian government announced that 28 al-Qa`ida suspects were recently apprehended under suspicion of planning to launch a “terrorist campaign” inside the country. The group was part of the same plot that involved an earlier set of 28 arrests in December. According to the Interior Ministry, there are now 56 suspected individuals part of the plot, and some of them were in direct contact with al-Qa`ida’s senior leadership, including Ayman al-Zawahiri. According to the ministry, “They were instructed to rebuild the deviant organization and launch a terrorist campaign inside Saudi Arabia. Preparations for these criminal plans had reached advanced stages.” – *AFP, March 3*

March 3, 2008 (INDONESIA): Abu Dujana, one of the top Jemaah Islamiyah leaders in custody, told a court that he was involved in procuring weapons and handling funds for the group. The operative said that he trained in Afghanistan and Pakistan in 1989. In the 1990s, he was an instructor in the southern Philippines. According to Dujana, he became JI’s military leader in October 2005. – *AP, March 3*

March 3, 2008 (SOMALIA): The U.S. Navy launched at least two Tomahawk cruise missiles into southern Somalia in an attempt to kill a “known al-Qa`ida terrorist.” The target was Saleh Ali Saleh Nabhan, a Kenyan wanted by the FBI for suspected involvement in a terrorist attack on a hotel and airliner in Mombasa, Kenya in 2002. Furthermore, Kenyan authorities allege that Nabhan was also involved in the 1998 U.S. Embassy bombings in Nairobi and Dar es Salaam. It is not believed that he was killed in the strike. – *New York Times, March 4*

March 3, 2008 (IRAQ): A suicide car bomber killed at least 21 people in

Baghdad’s Bab al-Mudham neighborhood. Reports state that the assailant targeted a neighborhood watch group’s checkpoint. – *AP, March 3*

March 3, 2008 (IRAQ): A suicide bomber tried to drive an explosives-laden minibus into the headquarters of the Interior Ministry’s 4<sup>th</sup> Brigade in Baghdad’s eastern Zayouna neighborhood. Iraqi security forces, however, managed to prevent the vehicle from entering the compound, although the vehicle still exploded and killed at least two Iraqi soldiers. – *AP, March 3*

March 3, 2008 (IRAQ): Iraqi police announced that three officers were killed after a car bomb exploded in Shikaat, a town north of Baghdad. – *AP, March 3*

March 4, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): One policeman was killed in Tani district of Khost Province after a suicide car bomber attempted to destroy a government building. The explosion was detonated prematurely after Afghan guards fired at the vehicle as it was approaching its target. – *AP, March 4*

March 4, 2008 (PHILIPPINES): According to the Armed Forces of the Philippines, in conjunction with a press report quoting intelligence authorities and local officials, a Jordanian Jemaah Islamiyah operative is training Abu Sayyaf Group members in bomb-making and sabotage techniques in Basilan. The operative was named as Pidas Mohammad. – *Philippine Star, March 4*

March 4, 2008 (PAKISTAN): At least four people were killed after two suicide bombers attacked a naval war college in Lahore. According to an individual interviewed by the *New York Times*, “One suicide bomber was stationed outside the rear gate of the college...[he] exploded himself, probably to make way for the second attacker. The gate was destroyed as a result of the explosion. A naval vehicle was entering into the college at that time, and under that cover, the second bomber on a motorbike tried to enter the premises. He was challenged and he exploded himself near the transport shed, next to the gate.” – *New York Times, March 5*

March 5, 2008 (UNITED STATES): Former U.S. Navy sailor Hassan Abu-Jihaad was convicted by a jury of providing material support to terrorists and disclosing classified information.

Abu-Jihaad, a U.S.-born citizen, is a Muslim convert who was previously known as Paul R. Hall. He could face 25 years in prison and will be sentenced on May 23. – *CNN, March 5*

March 5, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): CENTCOM commander Admiral William Fallon told the U.S. House Armed Services Committee that he does not expect the Taliban to launch a spring offensive this year. – *AP, March 5*

March 5, 2008 (PAKISTAN): A Pakistani court sentenced al-Qa`ida-linked militant Anwarul Haq to death for his role in a 2006 suicide attack that left U.S. diplomat David Foy, and three other people, dead. The attack occurred on March 2, 2006 outside the U.S. Consulate in Karachi. – *AFP, March 5*

March 5, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Taliban militants attacked another telecom tower in Afghanistan, making it the fourth attack on a cell phone tower since late February. The attack occurred in southern Zabul Province. – *Reuters, March 6*

March 6, 2008 (IRAQ): Two bombs ripped through a busy Baghdad shopping district, killing approximately 68 people. The attack occurred in the primarily Shi`a, middle class Karrada neighborhood. – *AP, March 7*

March 6, 2008 (PHILIPPINES): Philippine authorities announced the arrests of two Arab militants who were plotting to bomb the embassies of the United States, Israel and the United Kingdom in Manila. The men were arrested last month during raids on the island of Mindanao. – *Reuters, March 6*

March 6, 2008 (ISRAEL): A single Palestinian gunman opened fire at the Mercaz Harav religious seminary in Jerusalem, killing eight people. All of the dead were rabbinical students. – *Bloomberg, March 6*

March 7, 2008 (IRAQ): A car bomb exploded outside a Mosul police station, killing at least two Iraqi police officers and one civilian. – *AP, March 7*

March 8, 2008 (SAUDI ARABIA): Saudi Arabia's top religious authority, Grand Mufti `Abd al-`Aziz al-Shaykh, warned Saudis against providing financial support to "evil" groups, a likely reference to al-

Qa`ida. According to the shaykh, "It is bad to give funds to just anyone who asks, and to parties with shabby reputations or unknown backing. It's even worse to give it to an organization that's known for its evil and for hurting Islam and its followers." – *AP, March 8*

March 9, 2008 (UNITED KINGDOM): According to media reports, "four British police officers are under surveillance after being identified as possible al-Qa`ida spies..." It is believed that the operatives joined the police department to monitor potential terrorism raids by London's Metropolitan Police. MI5 and investigators are watching the suspects in order to build up an effective case against them, and they have not yet been arrested. – *Fox News, March 9*

March 9, 2008 (YEMEN): Jaber al-Banna, a Yemeni-American and one of the FBI's 26 most wanted terrorists, was granted bail on his own recognizance and was free to leave the court. Al-Banna previously appeared in court on February 23 and was not subject to any form of incarceration at that time either. – *AFP, March 9*

March 10, 2008 (GLOBAL): Top al-Qa`ida operative Abu Yahia al-Libi appeared in a new video posted on Islamist web forums. In the video, al-Libi claims that the recent revisions by Sayyid Imam, the former mufti of Egyptian Islamic Jihad, was a forgery created by the Egyptian security apparatus, which is the "master of deception." Al-Libi asked, "If the document really reflects its author's belief, then why is the security apparatus keeping him behind bars?" – *AP, March 11*

March 10, 2008 (PHILIPPINES/INDONESIA): According to the Associated Press, "Philippine and Indonesian police are planning to set up a DNA databank to help rapidly identify captured or slain members of the al-Qaida-linked militant group Jemaah Islamiyah." The proposed system would involve Interpol. – *AP, March 10*

March 10, 2008 (IRAQ): A female suicide bomber killed Thaer Saggban al-Karkhi, a prominent Sunni Arab tribal leader who led a neighborhood security group in Kanaan, Diyala Province. The bomber knocked on the door of the chief's home, and then detonated her explosives when he came to the door. In addition to al-Karkhi's death, three others were killed

including the chief's niece. – *Reuters, March 10*

March 10, 2008 (IRAQ): A suicide car bomber targeted a hotel popular with foreigners and government officials in Sulaymaniyah Province. The Sulaymaniyah Palace Hotel was damaged in the blast, and at least one person was killed. – *Reuters, March 10*

March 10, 2008 (IRAQ): Five U.S. soldiers were killed after a suicide bomber targeted their foot patrol in Mansour district of Baghdad. – *Reuters, March 10*

March 10, 2008 (IRAQ): Three U.S. soldiers were killed by a roadside bomb north of Baghdad. – *AP, March 11*

March 10, 2008 (TUNISIA): Al-Qa`ida in the Islamic Maghreb released a statement that claimed credit for the kidnappings of two Austrian tourists who disappeared from Tunisia in February. According to the statement, the tourists were abducted on February 22 and were seized in response to the West's support for Israel. According to al-Jazira, "The spokesman said in the tape that the group will announce its conditions for the release of the two tourists at a later stage." – *BBC News, March 10*

March 11, 2008 (UNITED KINGDOM): A British court sentenced Khalid Khaliq to 16 months in jail for possessing an al-Qa`ida training manual. Khaliq was in personal contact with some of the July 7 London bombers. – *BBC News, March 11*

March 11, 2008 (IRAQ): A bus traveling from Najaf to Basra was hit by a roadside bomb, killing at least 16 civilians. – *AP, March 11*

March 11, 2008 (PAKISTAN): Two suicide car bombers drove an explosives-laden vehicle into Pakistan's Federal Investigation Agency in Lahore, killing approximately 17 people and largely destroying the building. – *CNN, March 11*

March 11, 2008 (PAKISTAN): A suicide bomber drove a van into a house in an area of Lahore known as Model Town, killing three people. – *CNN, March 11*

March 11, 2008 (THAILAND): Suspected insurgents killed a local official in Saiburi district of Pattani Province. – *TNA, March 11*

**CTC Sentinel Staff****Editor-in-Chief**

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Department Head  
Department of Social Sciences (West Point)

**CONTACT**

Combating Terrorism Center  
U.S. Military Academy  
607 Cullum Road, Lincoln Hall  
West Point, NY 10996  
Phone: (202) 425-8578  
Email: [sentinel@usma.edu](mailto:sentinel@usma.edu)  
Web: [www.ctc.usma.edu/sentinel/](http://www.ctc.usma.edu/sentinel/)

\* For Press Inquiries: (202) 425-8578

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The views expressed in this report are those of the authors and not of the U.S. Military Academy, the Department of the Army, or any other agency of the U.S. Government.

March 11, 2008 (SOMALIA): A roadside bomb partially destroyed a Central Bank of Somalia vehicle, in southern Mogadishu, killing two police officers. - *AFP, March 11*

March 12, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide car bomber targeted a NATO-led convoy in Kandahar, but failed to cause casualties among the troops. One civilian, however, was killed in the attack. - *Reuters, March 12*

March 12, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): A roadside bomb blew up next to a vehicle containing Romanian ISAF troops on a road between Kandahar and Zabul Province. Three of the soldiers were wounded. - *AFP, March 12*

March 12, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): According to Nimroz Governor Ghulam Dastagir Azad, Afghan and coalition forces killed 41 Taliban militants who were traveling through Helmand Province. - *The Press Association, March 13*

March 12, 2008 (JORDAN): The Jordanian government freed Isam Mohammed Taher al-Barqawi (also known as Shaykh Abu Muhammad al-Maqdisi) after being in police custody since 2005. Al-Maqdisi is considered a mentor to now deceased al-Qa`ida in Iraq leader Abu Mus`ab al-Zarqawi. Zarqawi and al-Maqdisi shared a cell block between 1995 and 1999. - *AP, March 12*

March 13, 2008 (NORTH AFRICA): A statement by al-Qa`ida in the Islamic Maghreb was posted on an Islamist website, and the group declared that it would free two abducted Austrian tourists if all of AQIM's jailed operatives were released in Tunisia and Algeria. The statement also included six photographs of the two hostages as proofs of life. It is believed that the two tourists were kidnapped on February 22. - *AP, March 13*

March 13, 2008 (AFGHANISTAN): A suicide car bomber attacked a U.S. troop convoy in Kabul, damaging two armored vehicles. Although no coalition troops were killed in the attack, at least six civilians died in the blast. The Taliban claimed responsibility. - *Voice of America, March 13*

March 13, 2008 (IRAQ): Iraqi authorities announced that alleged al-Qa`ida militants attacked the Benizad village in

Diyala Province, killing five members of an Awakening Council and then beheading them. - *AFP, March 13*

March 13, 2008 (IRAQ): A suicide car bomber killed at least 18 people in central Baghdad's Bab al-Sharji area. - *AFP, March 13*

March 13, 2008 (GERMANY): Abdelali Miftah, a Moroccan charged for recruiting and smuggling fighters to al-Qa`ida in Iraq, appeared in court today and could be sentenced to five years in prison if convicted. Miftah was arrested in March 2007 in Sweden. - *AP, March 13*

March 14, 2008 (UNITED STATES): The Pentagon announced that a high-level al-Qa`ida operative, Mohammad Rahim, was now in U.S. custody at Guantanamo Bay. Rahim, who allegedly helped Usama bin Ladin escape from Afghanistan in 2001, was likely detained in the summer of 2007, although the circumstances of his apprehension are not clear. - *AP, March 14*